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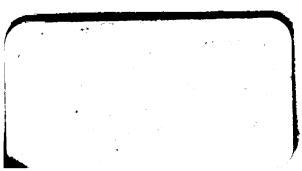
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A POLITICAL HISTORY OF

MODERN EUROPE

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A POLITICAL HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

FERDINAND SCHWILL, PH.D.

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WITH SIXTEEN GENEALOGICAL TABLES AND TWENTY-TWO MAPS

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PREFACE

A HISTORY which, like the present one, compresses the political development of Europe during the last four eventful centuries into a single volume, must needs give the impression of being hurried and superficial, and be guilty of a large number of glaring omissions. In excuse of these shortcomings the author begs leave to call attention to his purpose merely to raise one of those scaffoldings which must precede the erection of an edifice, and which is destined to be cleared away when the edifice is completed. In the author's view his book is no more than an introduction to the field, planned for the convenience of the student who is taking his first survey of this branch of knowledge. In the hope of facilitating the beginner's labors, the text is accompanied with references and illustrated by means of maps and genealogical tables. A word upon the text and the auxiliary features will show how they are correlated.

1. The *text* presents the political development of Modern Europe in the following order: a Preliminary Survey, introducing the reader to the intellectual, moral, and political conditions of the Renaissance, is followed by three parts, entitled respectively, Part I., The Reformation (1500–1648); Part II., The Absolute Monarchy (1648–1789); Part III., Revolution and Democracy (1789–1906). Each part is divided into a convenient number of chapters. As soon as a chapter has been carefully read and fully understood the student should turn to the references.

2. The *references* at the head of each chapter enable the student to penetrate more deeply into the chapter matter.

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They are of two kinds, first, *secondary authorities*, pointing a way by which the student may gather additional information, and, second, *sources*, or rather *source readings*, facilitating immediate contact with specimens of the original material, upon which, and upon which alone, all solid historical knowledge must in the end be based. With the beginner in mind the author has seen fit to limit his references to books and documents in the English language.

3. The *maps*, the close perusal of which cannot be too much insisted on, are scattered through the text at the most appropriate places, while the Chronological Table of the Popes (Appendix B) and the Genealogical Tables of the Sovereign Houses (Appendix C), bound together at the end of the volume, should prove helpful in solving problems of succession and family alliances.

At the end of the volume will be found a complete list of the books recommended under the references together with their publishers and prices (Appendix D). In Appendix A I have selected from the complete list of books a small number costing $25–$30 and calculated to constitute the nucleus of a serviceable reference library for every student with a serious interest in the period.

A general atlas, always within reach during the preparation of the daily lesson, will be found a most useful supplement to the maps in this volume. Several excellent works of this kind may be recommended to the student: 1. Dow, E. W., Atlas of European History. Henry Holt. New York. 2. Putzger, Historischer Schulatlas; with English Introduction and German-English Glossary. American agents: Lemcke & Buechner. New York. $1.25. Putzger makes a specialty of German history. 3. Gardiner, S. R. A School Atlas of English History. Longmans, Green. London and New York. $1.50.

A word for advanced students and teachers, desirous of

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going behind the simple references supplied in this volume. Readers of this class should aim primarily at a first-hand acquaintance with the sources, even though access to them is not always easy and will be found entirely impossible without an extensive knowledge of languages. Of course the sources of Modern European History cannot be classified here. But the following bibliographical works, which enumerate and discuss the sources and authorities, may be set down for the benefit of the more ambitious student:

For General European History.

Langlois. Manuel de Bibliographie Historique. Librairie Hachette. Paris. 1901–4. *2 vols.*

For English History.

Gardiner and Mullinger. Introduction to the Study of English History. Kegan Paul. London.

For German History.

Dahlmann-Waitz. Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte. 6. *Auflage Bearbeitet von E. Steindorff. Göttingen.* 1894.

For French History.

Monod. Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France. Librairie Hachette. Paris. 1888 (goes only to 1789).

For the History of the Nineteenth Century excellent, though not exhaustive, bibliographies will be found in *Seignobos. A Political History of Europe Since* 1814. *Translation edited by S. M. Macvane. Henry Holt. New York.*

Of the greatest importance for the whole period are the various collections of treaties, such as the following: DUMONT. *Corps Universel Diplomatique . . . contenant un recueil des Traités d'Alliance . . . depuis le Règne de l'Empereur Charlemagne jusqu'à présent. Amsterdam.* 1726. 8 *vols., with Supplements.* GARDEN. *Histoire Générale des Traités de Paix . . . depuis la paix de Westphalie.*

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15 *vols. Amyot. Paris.* MARTENS (*and others*). *Recueil de Traités . . . depuis* 1761 *jusqu'à présent.* 69 *vols., with Supplements and Indexes. Librairie de Dieterich. Göttingen.*

The author desires to take this occasion to thank the many friends, and particularly the members of his own department at the University of Chicago, for valuable assistance rendered in the preparation of this book.

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INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND OBJECT OF THE PRESENT BOOK

Preliminary definitions.

THIS book aims to present the history of Europe during the Modern Period. To avoid misunderstanding, I desire at the outset to come to an agreement with the reader upon the term Modern, and to examine the meaning of the elastic word history.

Chronological limits of this book.

Everybody is agreed that Modern History refers to the recent stages in the development of the human race, but opinions differ widely as to the point where it properly begins. A moment's reflection will show that agreement is not essential, for let it be once understood that history is a continuous and uninterrupted evolution, during which man passes slowly from barbarism to civilization, and it will be granted that hard-and-fast divisions are out of the question. The familiar terms Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern conveniently designate broad successive stages in the progress of mankind, but it is absurd to pretend that each period has a precise beginning and ending. Modern History, for instance, must begin with the modern man; but as he emerged very gradually from the mediæval world, it is impossible to say at what exact point his story begins and that of his predecessor terminates. For this reason I am content to conform to the current usage, according to which Modern History begins with the Protestant Reformation. Nobody will dispute that by that time the modern man was in full possession of the scene. From the Reformation in the sixteenth century to the early years of the twentieth century is a period

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of four hundred years, whose story is to be told in this book.

The term history defined.

Far more important and subject to reasonable contention is the term history. In former times all scholars who made it their business to collect the facts of the past were called historians, and the books wherein they recorded them were called histories. Thus it came to pass that the most diversified materials were crowded within the covers of a single work, a history, say of France, telling us of the kings and of their court, of the government and administration, of the economic resources and industrial methods, of religion and morals, and of the progress of the arts. And many people, accepting the old tradition, believe that all these matters should still be included in a book putting forth the pretension to be a history. On the other hand, there is no denying that historical materials have swelled so enormously in the last fifty years that for a single man to acquaint himself with all the various phases of even a limited period of the past is difficult, and to compress them into a single volume an impossibility. We hear much in these days of the principle of specialization, which has been applied, and is destined in still larger measure to be applied, to every form of manual and intellectual labor. Under the specializing influence of our time the province of history has been subdivided into many fields, such as economics, political science, sociology, and diplomacy; and the work which used to be done by the historian alone, now engages the energy of many special groups of investigators. In consequence, the need has been felt on the part of many to redefine history in accordance with the new conditions. But, unfortunately, no general agreement has yet been reached. Pending the settlement, I am prepared to adopt the view which commands the greatest number of adherents, and which affirms that history is concerned primarily with politics, and secondarily

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with everything else in the life of a nation affecting politics. By politics I understand the development of government in the different countries, the work of these governments in making laws and administering home affairs, and the relations of the governments among themselves in peace and war. It is therefore understood that the present volume will treat of the politics of the countries of Europe, not, however, without duly taking note of those changes in economics, morals, religion, art, and literature which are the causes, and therefore furnish the explanation, of every new political upheaval.

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PRELIMINARY SURVEY

CHAPTER I

EUROPEAN SOCIETY DURING THE RENAISSANCE

REFERENCES: ADAMS, Civilization During the Middle Ages, Chapters XII., XV.; SYMONDS, A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy; SYMONDS, Renaissance in Italy, especially the volumes, Age of the Despots, Revival of Learning, Fine Arts; BURCKHARDT, The Civilization of the Renaissance (excellent for the many aspects of Italian culture); FISKE, Discovery of America; BEAZLEY, Prince Henry (of Portugal); THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, Vol. I., The Renaissance, Chapters I., II., XV., XVI., XVII.; CARTWRIGHT, Beatrice D'Este, also Isabella D'Este (for court life in Italy).

SOURCE READINGS: WHITCOMB, Literary Source Book of the Italian Renaissance (extracts from Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, etc.); ROBINSON and ROLFE, Petrarch (selections from his correspondence); ROBINSON, Readings in European History, Vol. I., Chapter XXII.; Vol. II., Chapter XXIII.; BENVENUTO CELLINI, Life Written by Himself (full of Renaissance atmosphere); MACHIAVELLI, The Prince (on Italian state-craft); VASARI, Lives of the Painters; CASTIGLIONE, The Book of the Courtier (excellent for the manners of the great world); OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS, Nos. 29, 33 (Columbus).

The Renaissance.

THE Introduction has informed the reader what centuries I intend to cover and what material I purpose to include in this book. We are now prepared to take up the general

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features of Europe at the opening of our period. I have already said that the beginning of the sixteenth century is a convenient and traditional starting-point for the Modern Period, and I added that this opinion prevailed because by the year 1500 man, in spite of the mediæval characteristics which still clung to him, had essentially assumed a modern aspect. The one thousand years before 1500 are generally agreed to constitute the Mediæval Period, but naturally during these one thousand years Europe, in accordance with the universal law of life, was in perpetual though very gradual transformation. Let no one dream that the long Mediæval Period presents to the student a single and unchanging face. Especially in its last stage new forces appear which greatly accelerate the evolution of society. In the course of the thirteenth century, and quite distinctly by the beginning of the fourteenth century, man began noticeably to extend his horizon and give proof of a rapidly increasing individual effectiveness. Instead of indolence we meet with stir and strife, instead of indifference we encounter curiosity and gladness. This section of the Middle Ages, approximately covering the two hundred and fifty years from 1250 A.D. to 1500 A.D., is therefore very properly called the time of rebirth, or Renaissance. Let us pass in review the main forces and events which produced this astonishing change and supplanted the mediæval with the modern man.

I. The Revival of Industry, Commerce, and Town Life.

Mediæval society is agricultural.

The early Middle Ages were mainly characterized by the decay of Roman civilization, attended by the first timid steps of the German barbarians and conquerors toward the founding of new states. Economically considered, these centuries constituted an agricultural period, during which the people lived for the most part directly on the soil. The two con-

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siderable classes were the landlords, or baronage, who owned the land and the peasants who tilled it. What industry existed was calculated to meet the bare needs of living, and was chiefly confined to the building of rude peasant huts and rough-fashioned though often vast and imposing castles; to the making of primitive yokes, carts, and clothing; to the forging of clumsy weapons; and to such other simple work as could be done by the peasants in their scattered settlements. Until society had acquired a wider outlook and men began to demand something more than just food enough to appease their hunger, and skins and homespuns enough to clothe their nakedness, there would be no need of cities, the first object of which is to furnish comforts by means of manufacture, and to distribute them by means of commerce. Cities, immense cities, had existed when the Roman Empire was at its height, but they had all fallen into decay, and many had perished from the face of the earth. The early Middle Ages were substantially a cityless period. But gradually the raw and vigorous nations which arose upon the ruins of the Roman Empire advanced sufficiently out of their early barbarism to ask for something more than bare necessities. The demand they gradually created for conveniences and luxuries was soon no longer capable of being met by the casual labor of unskilled peasants, but required the trained hand of professional craftsmen. Here lies the beginning of the mediæval town or commune. In Italy, as the land which had bloomed most splendidly under the Roman Empire and had received the least injury from the barbarian invasions, the movement made itself felt first. Decay was checked; a distinct revival followed. The impulse, communicated as early as the eleventh century, was in full swing by the twelfth. Almost at the same time appeared the symptoms of an awakening of city life in France, Germany, and the other countries of Europe.

The growth of cities.

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The cities mean wealth, intellectual stir, and political freedom.

The result of the new economic demands was to draw the peasants in increasing numbers into small community settlements, frequently around some castle or monastery, and of these some of the more favorably situated presently grew to be considerable towns. Their quiet lanes became crowded thoroughfares; they resounded with the whirr of loom or beat of hammer upon anvil; they widened at intervals into market squares, where busy trade chattered and bargained around well-stocked booths. These activities not only brought wealth, but made men more self-reliant, stirred them with new thoughts. We are all aware that intercourse, involving human attrition, travel, strange sights, is the best available education. This advantage the townsmen enjoyed, and were soon raised by it to a higher plane of civilization than the governing classes. They grew restive under the feudal yoke, demanded that they be given the control of their own affairs, and ended by rising in revolution against their privileged oppressors. It is of immense importance to the history of the world that the new people, that is, the burghers, were victorious. They wrested from the feudal powers charters of liberties, by which they constituted their towns republics—sporadic germs of freedom and progress in the dreary deserts of feudalism. Their democracy had generally a less liberal character than that of the present day, as only the well-to-do were given the right to vote and hold office; but it was none the less a very real growth, and in any case marks the appearance of that political principle of popular government which is one of the most constant interests of the modern age.

Italy leads in commerce and industry.

In Italy sprang up not only the first but also the most vigorous city republics. Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Milan, and Florence acquired a wealth and civilization which made them shine out like points of light in their own day, and still invest them with an aureole to our admiring eyes. They developed

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the industrial arts, such as the weaving of silk and wool, and the forging of armor and weapons; and they exchanged these articles upon the marts of the Orient for carpets, sugar, fruits, and, above all, spices, used much more freely then than now [1]; or, in the ports of the North Sea, for fish, amber, and lumber. The whole Mediterranean Sea, together with the Atlantic Ocean as far north as the Baltic, was drawn into the field of enterprise of these Italian cities, and was furrowed in every direction by their galleys. That the cities of the north were not slow to see the advantages of this activity is made evident by the great league of German towns, called the Hanse, which monopolized the trade of the northern coasts and grew powerful enough to depose and set up kings.

The Crusades open the Orient to Europe.

Starting with the eleventh century began that great movement known as the Crusades. The Crusades were, on the surface, an unsuccessful two hundred years' war of the Christian west against the Mohammedan east for the recovery of the Holy Places of Palestine; but, deeply considered, they were a commercial movement which introduced the European nations to the luxurious markets of Asia, and powerfully stimulated their curiosity and enterprise. The mental and material benefits which resulted from this intercourse were largely appropriated by the cities of Italy, partly because they were earliest on the ground, and partly because they enjoyed a geographical advantage over all competitors. In fact, the Crusades brought to the hard-headed merchants of Venice and Genoa nothing less than the commercial monopoly of the east.

The wealth of the east stimulates discovery.

Naturally, as the towns and nations lying farther to the

[1] In mediæval times people not only spiced their dishes more liberally than we do, but also seasoned their wines and medicines with spices. The spices most in demand were pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, and ginger. Other Oriental products, such as camphor and indigo (for dyeing cloths), were also highly prized.

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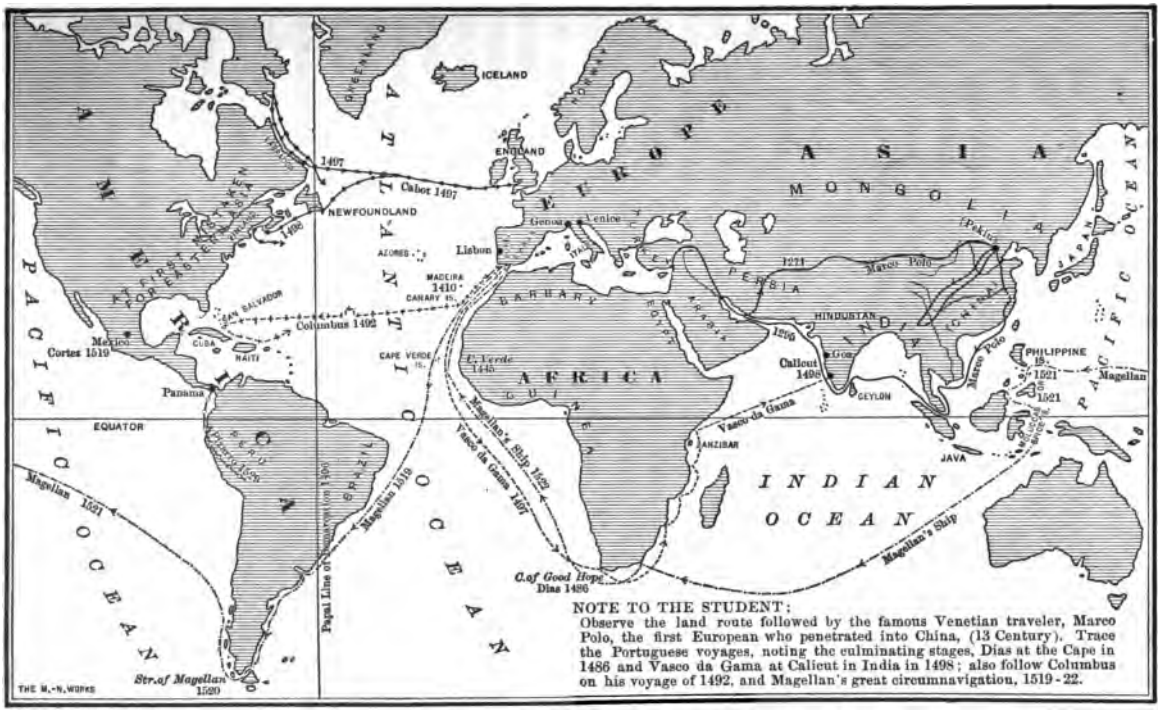
west developed, they began to be filled with the desire of breaking through the trade monopoly enjoyed by the Italian cities and of sharing in its immense benefits. The problem before them was to find a route to the Orient other than the Mediterranean Sea, controlled by Genoa and Venice. The coming of the Turks, who by the fifteenth century were beginning to render the Mediterranean traffic uncertain, made it still further urgent to find another passage to the spice lands. Portugal first began the search, conducting her enterprises on the theory that it was possible to break through, or sail around, Africa. Thus began the discoveries, a direct consequence, as will be seen, of the Crusades, which, in their turn, are intimately linked with the whole movement of the revival of industry, commerce, and town life.

II. The Discoveries.

The Portuguese voyages.

The long chain of voyages which ended by making known to man all the important seas and lands of our planet, must be reckoned among the most conspicuous events of the Renaissance. They constitute the Age of Discovery, a period when this plain earth suddenly gave birth to miracles. The brilliant story begins with the Portuguese exploration of the African coast. The first impulse to this enterprise was given by a prince of the royal house, Henry, famous in chronicle as Prince Henry the Navigator, although he seems never to have sailed beyond the waters of his native land. His service consisted in rousing in others an enthusiasm for discovery and in tirelessly fitting out new expeditions. Prince Henry began this work about 1426, and devoted himself to it until his death in 1460. By that time the Azores and Cape Verde Islands had been discovered and the coast of Africa had been traced almost to the equator. Still the shore did not take the desired angle to the northeast which would show that the continent had been rounded. At last, in 1486, Diaz was

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NOTE TO THE STUDENT:
Observe the land route followed by the famous Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, the first European who penetrated into China, (13 Century). Trace the Portuguese voyages, noting the culminating stages, Dias at the Cape in 1486 and Vasco da Gama at Calicut in India in 1498; also follow Columbus on his voyage of 1492, and Magellan's great circumnavigation, 1519-22.

THE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

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rewarded with success and sailed a few leagues around the Cape of Good Hope; and twelve years later (1498) Vasco da Gama crowned a century of heroic effort by sailing across the Indian Ocean to Calicut in Hindostan, thus reaching the Orient by the long-sought independent route. Europe was now furnished with spices from Lisbon more cheaply than by the Italian cities, to whom Portuguese enterprise had delivered a mortal blow. Their heyday was over, and their decline began.

Vasco da Gama reaches India, 1498.

The discoveries of the Portuguese stimulated their neighbors, the Spaniards, to make similar efforts. As early as the second century after Christ the Greek astronomer Ptolemy had put forth the hypothesis that the earth was round, but as he had little secure information he made the mistake of calculating the earth's circumference at much too small a figure. The ideas of Ptolemy had been allowed to fall into partial oblivion in the Middle Ages, but in the fifteenth century, owing to the Portuguese successes, the Ptolemaic geography was again taken up, and the theory argued and defended by scientific men that the Oriental spice and treasure lands, vaguely called India, could be reached by a western route. The most fervent exponent of this idea was Christopher Columbus (1446–1506), an Italian mariner from Genoa. He laid his plan before the various governments most likely to be interested, and finally secured the support of Isabella, queen of Castile. He was supplied with three small caravels, the Santa Maria, the Pinta, and the Niña, and on August 3, 1492, set sail from Palos, a port of western Spain. On October 12th he touched at San Salvador, in the Bahamas, and before he returned had discovered Cuba and Hayti. Owing to Ptolemy's understatement of the earth's circumference, Columbus believed that he had reached the east coast of Asia, the region of the fabled India, and the name Indians, which he consequently applied to the aborig-

The Spanish voyages.

Columbus reaches America, 1492.

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ines, has clung to them ever since. The great discoverer drew much immediate honor from his adventure; he was made admiral, was invested with the viceroyalty of the new lands, and was received into the hereditary nobility of Spain. But chagrin and suffering forced their company upon him, and on one occasion he was arrested and sent, a prisoner in irons, from the world he had discovered to the country which he had enriched. On his death, in 1506, near Valladolid, he was rapidly forgotten, and by a tragic mishap the world which he had, so to speak, called out of the void [1] was not named after him, but after a relatively unimportant traveller and geographer, the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci. Between 1492 and 1506 Columbus made four voyages across the Atlantic, but the later ones did not add very materially to the information supplied by the first, and the great pathfinder died, as he had lived, under the erroneous impression that he had reached Asia and the Indian spice lands.

Discoveries multiplied.

In consequence of these successes discovery became a passion, especially among the Portuguese and Spaniards. Though the seas were wide and perilous, every adventurer's soul felt a personal summons to strike out into the unknown regions, whence fame and riches beckoned. No period of history is more astir with action and enterprise, more illumined with the light of romance. Voyage followed upon voyage, each contributing its mite to the completion of the world's geography. In 1497 John Cabot, a Venetian citizen in the employ of Henry VII. of England, first reached the coast of North America, and in 1499 Pinzon, who had accompanied Columbus on his first voyage, skirted the shore of Brazil. The climax of this period of enterprise was reached when Magellan, a Portuguese in the Spanish service, at-

Cabot.

[1] It may be noticed in passing that the Northmen, coming from Iceland, had discovered America in the tenth century and called it Vinland. But as their discovery was not followed up, it had no results for civilization, and does not detract in the least from the well-earned fame of Columbus.

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tempted in 1519 to find a passage to Asia around the southern point of America. Having successfully rounded Cape Horn, he was the first to furrow the Pacific, and in 1522, after a journey of three years, his ship, Victoria, reached its European starting-point. Magellan himself did not live to see the end, for he was killed upon the Philippine Islands, but the honor, nevertheless, of the first circumnavigation of the globe belongs to him.

Magellan sails around the world.

As the discoveries had their beginning in man's commercial instincts, the opening of new markets, of new fields of enterprise, was the most immediate benefit which they conferred. But other results followed. Full of a new energy, the European nations presently resolved to Christianize these new regions and settle them with colonists, in other words, to convert them into a new and larger Europe. This movement was likely to prove entirely successful only in the savage and sparsely settled continents of North and South America. In the more advanced and thickly inhabited regions of Asia the natives would find resources in themselves, enabling them to resist European assimilation. In consequence, we note a difference: Asia remained, as at first, merely a field of commercial exploitation; the Americas, however, were actually overrun and Europeanized.

Colonization.

In this movement, Portugal and Spain, as first upon the ground, had an advantage over other nations. For a moment they even dreamed of excluding all third parties and sharing the immense booty between themselves. In the year 1493 the Pope, on being appealed to as arbiter, gave his sanction to the division of the New World between the two peninsular powers. After much haggling they agreed upon the meridian which lay three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands as a boundary line. All new discoveries to the east of this meridian were to belong to Portugal, all to the west to Spain. But this ar-

Spain and Portugal try to monopolize the new discoveries.

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rangement could not be permanently maintained. Each power was likely to hold only what it could actually lay hands on, and both together would find it impossible to shut out determined rivals. Sooner or later England, France, and, very likely, other countries would join in the scramble for the new possessions, and such were their moral and material resources that they were sure to effect a lodgment.

The Portuguese and Spanish colonies.

The fierce colonial rivalry among the European powers is one of the most important interests of the Modern Period, and will play no small part in this history. For the present, however, we shall merely associate the various European powers with the main regions which they selected for colonial enterprise. The Portuguese planted trading posts along the coast of Africa and the southern shore of Asia, and by means of them long dominated the trade of the Indian Ocean. They also settled Brazil, which lay to the east of the meridian agreed upon with Spain, with sufficient numbers of their own people to make it Portuguese in speech and manners. The Spaniards located their chief colonial centres at the following points: (1) The West Indies, whither Columbus himself had first directed the stream of immigration; (2) Mexico, which was won for the Spaniards by the intrepid conqueror Cortez; (3) Peru, which was acquired by Pizarro; (4) The Philippine Islands, secured by Magellan. With the West Indies, Mexico, and Peru as bases of action, Spain surrounded and soon occupied the whole region of Central and South America except Brazil, while by means of the Philippine Islands she acquired an important foothold in Asiatic waters.

The colonial activity of England.

The northern European countries entered late, and with only gradually increasing vigor, into the contest for the possession of the new continents. The little which Henry VII. of England did to secure a share for his nation in the great extension of the world is of importance only by reason

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of consequences which he did not foresee. In 1497 he sent out John Cabot, who actually touched the shore of North America. After Cabot, English enterprise rested for a while, and when it revived was directed toward the discovery of still another passage, a passage by the waters of the northwest, to the spice lands of Asia, in order by this means to elude both the Portuguese and Spaniards, who had pushed thither by following respectively southeasterly and southwesterly courses. This attempt was destined to failure on account of the far projection of North America into the Arctic Sea, but it had the effect of at least keeping alive the English interest in the North American coast. Not until the seventeenth century, however, did England realize her opportunities, when she actively undertook the colonization of the Atlantic seaboard.

The colonial activity of France.

The French were even more lax than the English in the matter of colonization, and it was not until the reign of Henry IV. (1589–1610) that they seriously undertook to carve out a conquest for themselves. They then hastened to undo, as far as possible, the consequences of their neglect by settlements in Canada, and later in Louisiana—that is, in the St. Lawrence and Mississippi basins.

Germany, a divided country with a decrepit central government, was in no position to assert herself and claim a share in the new lands. She, as well as nations similarly paralyzed, like Italy and Poland, came off with empty hands.

III. The Revival of Learning and the Bloom of the Fine Arts.

The revival of the classics.

Hand in hand with the immense extension of the material world, effected by the revival of town life and the voyages of discovery, went an enlargement of the intellectual and æsthetic life of man, brought about by the re-

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vival of learning and the stimulation of the arts. This movement, like the commercial development we have just followed, had its origin in Italy, for Italy was in all respects in the van of civilization. The pioneer, at least as far as learning is concerned, was the Florentine Petrarch. Petrarch, who lived in the fourteenth century (1304–74), was not only a great Italian poet, author of the immortal sonnets addressed to Laura, but also a fervent admirer of the literatures of Rome and Greece, which in the course of the Middle Ages had been largely permitted to fall into oblivion. His chief aim in life was to give them currency once more, and before he died he had communicated his passion to many others. What writings had been saved from the wreck of Roman civilization were to be found chiefly in the monasteries, where the monks, who had occupied their leisure with copying them, had established the only libraries which the Middle Ages knew. Among the dusty shelves and garrets of ancient monastic foundations Petrarch and his followers began a search as feverish and every bit as fruitful for humanity as the explorations of the Portuguese along the African coast. And the search was crowned with success. The manuscript copies of Virgil, Ovid, Plautus, and Cicero were multiplied by scribes and read with fresher minds, and these authors again began to shed the light of their wide culture upon the world. The discovery and communication of the Hellenic genius, as exemplified by Homer, Sophocles, and Plato, followed in due course of time. Before the end of the Renaissance practically all that we now know of Greek and Latin literature had been made accessible to man. And with the revival of ancient literature kept pace a passionate interest in ancient art. Roman buildings, Greek and Roman statuary, all in a more or less ruined state, were to be found scattered over the whole surface of Italy. Their enthusiastic study by trained artists completed the work

Petrarch.

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begun by the students of literature, and put at man's disposal the whole range of ancient civilization.

Humanists and schoolmen.

Petrarch and the generation of scholars who received their impulse from him have been designated by the collective term of humanists. The word signifies that they stood for the more literary range of studies called the humanities, and was intended to convey their antagonism to the schoolmen, who championed the old-fashioned curriculum pursued in the schools and universities in the Middle Ages. This curriculum had stamped upon it a theological character, and consisted largely of exercises in logic and dialectics, which might give the mind a certain firmness, but did not increase its store of knowledge or broaden its outlook. These very important objects, however, the studies championed by the humanists, and involving an acquaintance with the free and splendid civilization of Rome and Athens, accomplished, and thus tremendously stimulated that curiosity about all things in heaven and earth which is one of the most characteristic qualities of the modern mind.

Humanism at courts, cities, and universities.

The humanistic faith, with its object of enlarging and beautifying life, made its way with great rapidity in the courts of princes, in merchant circles, and among the universities. Many universities had been founded in the Middle Ages all over Europe for the specific purpose of training lawyers, physicians, and theologians. The university of Paris (founded about 1207), the university of Bologna (founded about 1088), the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (thirteenth century) are among the most famous. Into these and many others, founded at a later time, the new influence breathed fresh life, with the result that while they continued to prepare for the learned professions, they encouraged the students to shake off the prejudices of their narrow world and poured out upon them a more gracious spirit of living.

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The Fine Arts are stimulated by the study of the classical past.

To the same end as the new learning contributed in perhaps even a higher degree the bloom of the Fine Arts. Sculpture, painting, and, especially, architecture had been busily cultivated since the revival of town life, and reached in the thirteenth century a monumental climax in the Gothic cathedral. No society and no period has ever raised itself a more impressive memorial. Much of our too ready contempt for the Middle Ages will subside if we pause to reflect that the great Gothic cathedrals are pure mediæval products, developed by mediæval architects, practically without help from any age. Sculpture and painting, too, gave expression to mediæval ideals, but in a halting way and with very deficient equipment, until the revival of learning called attention to the models left by Rome and Greece. Then began a passionate study of antique forms and presently of living men and women, which gave these arts a firm footing in life itself. It was in Italy, in such centres as Pisa and Florence, that the arts were first fructified by contact with the classic genius, and though the revival soon spread to other countries, Italy, which started the movement, retained its preëminence for many generations. Almost every city among that vivacious people developed a particular school or style of architecture, sculpture, and painting. A marvellous wealth and diversity of production, the joy of every modern student, characterizes the period, but cannot be followed here. Suffice it to glance at the single case of Florence. She boasted Brunellesco, the architect; Donatello and Michael Angelo, the sculptors; and aside from Giotto (d. 1336), who still moved among mediæval forms and conceptions, Masaccio, Fra Filippo Lippi, Botticelli, and Leonardo da Vinci, the painters. And these are only the more conspicuous names of the great galaxy which shed its splendor upon the Arno city.

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IV. The Return to Nature and the Progress of Science and Mechanical Inventions.

The birth of science.

The influences already enumerated—the increasing wealth and independence of the burgher class, the wider outlook secured by the discoveries, the new ideas derived from Greece and Rome—revived the scientific spirit, which means, in essence, the desire for exact information about the world in which we live. Mediæval men had not looked about in nature with open or very curious eyes, and had been content to accept the bookish theories of the universe inculcated by theology. But with the quickening of intelligence men began to make personal observations and record natural facts, and not only came upon much that was at variance with the teaching of the Church, but upon many things that were entirely new. The Portuguese and Spanish voyages, besides charting hitherto unknown seas and coasts, accumulated a vast heap of information about peoples, languages, plants, and animals. Such studies as geography, ethnology, botany, and astronomy were gradually revolutionized. This prolonged and vigorous stimulation of thought finally culminated in the epoch-making discovery of the true relation of our world to the other heavenly bodies. Although the theory of the Greek astronomer Ptolemy of the rotundity of the earth was never entirely forgotten, mediæval men had generally held that the earth was flat and was the centre of the universe. Hardly had Columbus and his followers proved that Ptolemy was right, when a Polish astronomer, Copernicus (1473–1543), took another forward step by establishing that our earth turned on its axis and together with the other planets revolved around the sun.

Copernicus and the solar system.

Inventions.

The new knowledge of nature and the growing acquaintance with her laws greatly stimulated invention. It requires no explanation that man should at all times welcome

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the simplification of a recurring task by means of some mechanical manipulation. Even savages are engaged in making inventions, and the Middle Ages were not so torpid as not to show this inherent tendency of our race, which was naturally stirred into a heightened activity with the advent of the Renaissance. Let us enumerate some of these inventions, noting briefly how they made life less of a burden and more of a pleasure, and man himself a more effective master of his environment. The compass—probably borrowed from the Chinese—came into general use among mariners, and took much of the terror from the trackless seas; a method of musical notation, which has secured the systematic development of the art of music, was devised, probably in Italy; in the Netherlands a body of artists, and notably Jan van Eyck, developed a durable method of painting by dissolving the color pigments in oil; and paper made from the pulp of rice straw, linen, and the inner bark of trees replaced the much more expensive parchment prepared from the hides of animals. Particularly important was the invention of gunpowder and printing, for they proved revolutionary agencies of the first magnitude. This deserves to be set forth more explicitly.

Gunpowder and printing.

If the Middle Ages were completely dominated by the feudal lords, it was largely because the landholding gentry, clad in armor and mounted on horseback, constituted the military force. The peasants, fighting on foot, armed sometimes only with scythes and clubs, were no match for them. With the invention of gunpowder—it came into gradual use during the fourteenth century—a weapon was put into the hands of the infantry which, coupled with improvements in drill and discipline, made them more than a match for the highborn cavaliers, while the use of artillery destroyed the impregnability of the moated castles from behind which their owners had defied society and its laws. And just as gunpow-

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der impaired the military prestige of the nobility, so printing put an end to the intellectual monopoly of the upper orders and, above all, the clergy. The invention of this art is generally ascribed to John Gutenberg of the city of Mainz, whose first book printed with movable types appeared about 1450. So long as learning and literature could be acquired only from hand-copied parchments, they were beyond the reach of all except the nobles and the rich corporations of the Church. Printing with movable types and on paper immensely cheapened the manufacture of books, and put them within the means of the middle classes. Merchants began to acquire libraries, reading became more general, knowledge more diffused. Thus gunpowder and printing tended to close the gap between lords and commoners, and contributed powerfully to the gradual democratization of society.

V. The Development of Individuality.

In the Middle Ages man is subordinated to the group.

In this enumeration of new interests and activities little has yet been said as to how they affected the point of view from which men looked at themselves and the world. We have agreed that the Renaissance created the modern man, but something remains to be said as to how he differs from his mediæval ancestor. The mediæval European lived among rude, agricultural conditions, where thought was little stimulated and had consequently fallen into stereotyped forms. Society was stamped with the principle of caste. Every man was associated with a particular class, and unhesitatingly accepted its conditions; he was a cleric, a nobleman, a peasant, a citizen, and within his city the member of a guild. His rights and obligations, his manners, and even his dress derived from the group to which he belonged.

In the Renaissance man is emancipated from the group.

Now the Renaissance broke up the group by endowing man with an expanding individuality, which made him impatient with the trammels imposed by his class. Business

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enterprise and travel made him self-reliant; the new learning, the new science supplied him with an immense number of new facts; he developed the faculty of criticism and applied it to the state, to art, to his fellow-man, even to the Church. Sustained, enlarged, exalted, he ventured forth from the shelter of the group, and proclaimed the right of every man to shape his fortune by his individual efforts. The emancipated man, emancipated from the group and class idea, emancipated from a narrow code of conduct, emancipated from abstruse, theological learning, is the most splendid flower of the Renaissance.

Self-development and the universal man.

Individuality, the vigorous consciousness of the joys, the sorrows, the power, the resources of self, became the passion of the day. In their extravagant reaction against the restraints imposed by superstition, men came to hold that the individual was justified in breaking through every barrier which stood in the way of his development. Perhaps no age has produced so many remarkable men and women. But the excess of freedom frequently led to license, especially in Italy, and in that country, by the side of the many great men, such as Petrarch and Columbus, lived some of the supreme villains of history, like Alexander VI. and his son, Cæsar Borgia. But even the crimes of a Borgia escape comparison with vulgar offences by reason of their imposing audacity. With perfect logic this belief in the unlimited rights and powers of the ego led to the concept of the universal man. He was the happy individual who by consistent self-development made himself lord of all science and skill—a god. We smile at such presumption now. But it is astonishing how near the Renaissance came toward achieving its ideal. Look at Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo, who practised painting, sculpture, architecture, and engineering. To make the measure full, Michael Angelo was a poet. Subsequent generations of men have moderated their ambition,

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but it is undeniable that the Renaissance ideal of universal culture has greatly influenced the whole modern age. Shakespeare and Goethe are later manifestations of it.

VI. The Political Evolution.

The mediæval form of monarchy.

I have already called attention to the fact that the land, and with the land the political authority, was held in the Middle Ages by the feudal barons. It is true that the states of Europe were organized as monarchies, but the monarchs were largely under the control of their barons, who met in diets or parliaments and discussed peace and war and the other business of the realm. The period tells of many kings who were violent and arbitrary, but of none who were absolute in the sense that they were the sole source of authority. In short, the mediæval governments were oligarchies rather than absolutisms.

Growing political importance of the cities.

Now the agents to which we have given our attention—the development of industry, the revival of learning, the inventions—threatened and undermined this predominance of the nobles. The cities in particular profited by the new influences, and, tired at last of being choked and hampered by their lords, won self-government. We have referred to their victory, which must not, however, be understood to have terminated the strife. Outside the walls, in the countryside, the struggle between the two hostile classes was bound to continue as long as the barons commanded the trade routes, which were the very arteries of town life. But in this pass the cities won an ally, who was none other than the king; for the king, too, hated the nobility, whose lust of power had kept him in dependence on them. The king could see, what was clear as day, that to strengthen the cities was to advance his own cause. He therefore not only helped them obtain their charters of liberty, but also favored their admission to representation in the national councils. As

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early as 1169 we find representatives of the cities sitting in the Cortes of Castile; in 1295 the burgesses or commoners were definitely admitted to the English Parliament; in the fourteenth century they were associated as a third estate with the National Assembly of France; and in the fifteenth century they became a house of the German Diet.

Growth of absolutism.

Thus everywhere may be observed the mounting importance of the cities. But every forward step they took meant a new loss for the nobility and by implication a new gain for the burghers' ally, the king. His power grew by leaps and bounds, until it became his ambition to free himself from every check. We shall see all sixteenth-century kings striving toward this goal, and we shall be obliged to acknowledge that this movement toward absolutism was, on the whole, beneficial to civilization, since only in this way could the feudal nobility be crushed, and the sharply separated classes of nobles, clergy, burghers, artisans, and peasants be welded into a single people. The kings supposed they were building only for themselves, but the subsequent development showed that they were really working in the interests of the nation.

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CHAPTER II

THE EUROPEAN STATES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERN PERIOD

The Empire.

REFERENCES: LODGE, Close of the Middle Ages, Chapter XVII.; BRYCE, The Holy Roman Empire, Chapter XVII.; HENDERSON, A Short History of Germany, Vol. I., Chapters VII., X.; THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, Vol. I., Chapter IX.

Decay of the Holy Roman Empire.

THE Roman Empire, which at the birth of Christ embraced the whole civilized world, had lost its hold upon western Europe after the Teutonic migrations. However, on Christmas Day, 800 A.D., Charlemagne, king of the most powerful of the Teutonic tribes, the Franks, took the title Roman Emperor, and thus revived the traditions of the Empire in the west. Since the resuscitated Empire was dedicated to the advance of religion and closely leagued with the Church, it was presently designated as Holy. The struggle and decay of the Holy Roman Empire is one of the main themes of mediæval history. It consistently lost ground, both as against the Church and the subject-nationalities which it embraced, and at the beginning of the Modern Period had been practically reduced to the national state of Germany. By the year 1500, therefore, the words Empire and Germany have, to all intents and purposes, become interchangeable terms.

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The Constitution of Germany.

At the opening of the Modern Period Maximilian I. (1493–1519) of the House of Hapsburg was the head of the Holy Roman Empire. The family of Hapsburg had grown so powerful in the fifteenth century that the German crown had almost become its hereditary possession. Theoretically, however, the crown was still elective. On the death of an emperor a successor could be legally chosen only by the seven electors, who were the seven greatest princes of the realm. Of these seven electors three were ecclesiastical dignitaries and four were lay princes. The seven were: the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier (Treves), the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine. The seven electors, the lesser princes (including the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries, such as bishops and abbots), and the free cities, meeting as three separate houses, composed the imperial Diet. This Diet was the legislative body of the Empire, and its consent was necessary to every important act. Emperor and Diet together constituted the imperial government, if machinery as rusty as that of the Empire had come to be may be given that name. In fact, the national government of Germany was little more than a glorious memory. Germany had not, like France, England, and Spain, advanced in the later Middle Ages toward national unity, but had steadily travelled in the opposite direction toward complete disintegration. The princes, margraves, counts, prince-bishops, and free cities, constituting the so-called "estates" of the mediæval feudal realm, were about three hundred in number. Some, like the seven electors, held territory large enough to command respect; others controlled at most a few square miles. Selfishly zealous to increase their local rights, they had acquired a constantly increasing independence of the central power, and had reduced the emperor to a puppet. It was plain that

The seven electors.

Growing weakness of the central authorities.

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if matters continued as in the past, even the name of unity would presently vanish, and Germany would be broken up into three hundred independent states.

The attempted reforms of Maximilian.

The greatest interest attaching to Maximilian's reign is connected with the circumstance that under him the last serious attempt was made to reinvigorate the imperial government. In the latter half of the fifteenth century something like a wave of national enthusiasm swept over Germany. Voices were raised throughout the land for reform, and encouraged by these manifestations Maximilian and his Diet approached the task of national reorganization. Beginning with 1495 a number of Diets met and discussed the measures to be taken. The result was a miserable disappointment, for what was done did not strengthen materially the central authority, the emperor, but was limited to the internal security of the realm. The right of private warfare, the most insufferable survival of feudal times, was abolished, and a perpetual peace (ewiger Landfrieden) proclaimed. To enforce this peace there was instituted a special court of justice, the Imperial Chamber (Reichskammergericht), to which all conflicts between the estates of the realm had to be referred. Later, in order to insure the execution of the verdicts of the Imperial Chamber and for the greater safety of the realm against external and internal foes, the Empire was divided into ten administrative districts. This is the largest measure of reform which the local governments in control of the Diet would, out of jealousy of the central government, concede. The emperor was left, as before, without an income, without an administration, and without an army. Lacking these he could not enforce the decrees of the Diet or of the Imperial Chamber, and was no better than a graven image, draped, for merely scenic purposes, in the mantle of royalty. If we hear of powerful emperors in the future (Charles V., for instance),

Abolition of right of private warfare.

The Imperial Chamber.

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we shall discover that they owed their power, not to the Empire, but always to the strength which they derived from their hereditary lands. In their hereditary lands they were, what they could never be in the Empire, effective masters.

Maximilian, who fell under the spell of the new culture influences of the Renaissance, was a strange mixture of modern and mediæval elements. He was much buffeted about by fortune, largely because he was simple-hearted enough to take the Empire and its threadbare splendors seriously. He tried to make good the ancient imperial claims to parts of Italy, and met with defeat and derision; he tried to unite Europe against the Turks, who had overrun the east and were moving westward up the Danube, but he could not even influence his own Germans to a national war of defence. However, a number of lucky matrimonial alliances compensated Maximilian for his many political disappointments. In the year 1477 he married Mary of Burgundy, the only child of Charles the Bold and heiress of the Netherlands; and in 1496 his son Philip was united to Joan of Castile, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella and heir-apparent to the crown of Spain. As Philip died in 1506 and Joan shortly after became insane, their son Charles was proclaimed, first, sovereign of the Netherlands, and later, on the death of Ferdinand (1516), king of Spain. Finally, when the Emperor Maximilian died (1519), Charles fell heir also to the Austrian lands, and soon after was elected to succeed his grandfather in the Empire. The new emperor adopted the title of Charles V.[1] To recount his astonishing position: he was lord of the Netherlands, king of Spain and her dependencies in Europe and beyond the seas, archduke of Austria—all this in his own right—whereto had been added

The Hapsburg marriages.

The dominion of Charles V.

[1] As king of Spain he is Charles I. For his descent see Genealogical Tables I. and II.

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by election the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. Unluckily for Charles V. there had, just before Maximilian's death, broken out the great Church schism, called the Reformation. Little as Charles suspected it at first, the Reformation was destined to become the most significant event of his reign.

Italy.

REFERENCES: SYMONDS, Renaissance in Italy, especially the volume entitled Age of the Despots; EWART, Cosimo de' Medici; ARMSTRONG, Lorenzo de' Medici; VILLARI, Life and Times of Savonarola; VILLARI, Life and Times of Machiavelli; HORATIO F. BROWN, Venice; CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, Vol. I., Chapter IV. (invasions of Italy), V. and VI. (Florence), VII. (Rome), VIII. (Venice).

The five leading states.

Italy at the end of the Middle Ages had fallen into worse confusion than Germany, for the country possessed not even that semblance of national unity, still maintained in Germany. There were in the peninsula five leading states: the duchy of Milan, the republic of Venice, the republic of Florence, the states of the Church, and the kingdom of Naples. The numerous small states, like Savoy and Ferrara, were too inconsiderable to play much of a political rôle.

Spain and France become interested in Italy.

During the fifteenth century the five leading states had been constantly engaged in wars among themselves. These wars did no great harm until it occurred to the kings of Spain and France to turn the local divisions of Italy to their personal advantage. Spain, or rather Aragon, at the end of the fifteenth century already possessed the islands of Sardinia and Sicily, and its royal house was closely related to the ruling family of Naples. Through these connections Spain acquired an active interest in Italian affairs. Unfortunately for Italy, France also became interested in Italian affairs when in 1481 the last member of the House of Anjou died,

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leaving all his possessions and claims to his near relative, the king of France. Among the claims was one to the kingdom of Naples, handed down from an earlier representative of the line. Charles VIII. of France resolved on his accession to power to make good this claim upon Naples by force, and in 1494 he made his famous invasion of Italy. It was the first foreign interference in the affairs of the peninsula since the beginning of the Renaissance, and became the prelude to Italy's decay and enslavement. Spain, unwilling to permit the extension of France, looked upon Charles's step as a challenge, and inaugurated a struggle for the possession of Italy which lasted for over fifty years and ended in her complete victory. At the beginning of our period this result was not yet apparent. But within a few years after the outbreak of the French-Spanish wars the states of Italy, overrun and plundered by superior forces, commenced to exhibit material alterations in their political status. Let us take a closer view of these Italian states.

Charles VIII. of France invades Italy, 1494.

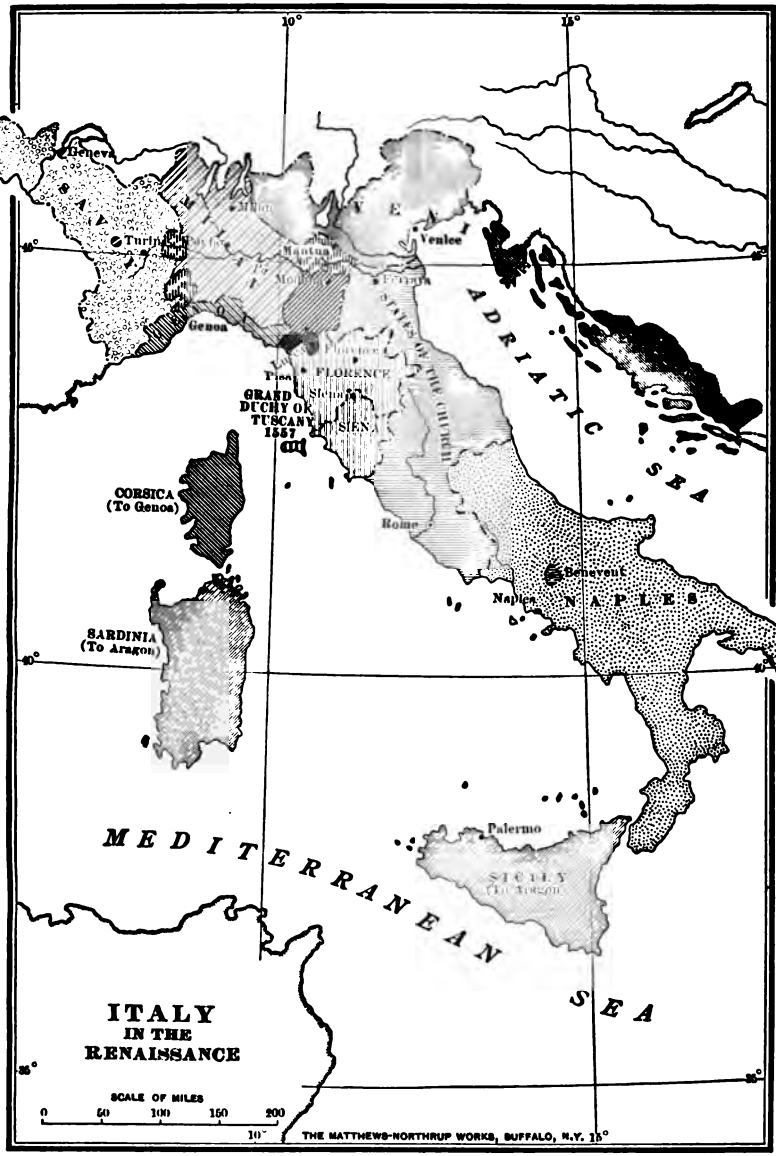
Naples.—If Naples, as it was the first, had remained the only, source of quarrel between France and Spain, peace might soon have been reëstablished. For, after having been traversed again and again by French and Spanish troops, the kingdom of Naples was definitely ceded by France to Spain (1504). As the southern part of the Italian mainland had for some time been designated in current use as Sicily, Ferdinand of Aragon, already lord of the island of Sicily, henceforth adopted the style of king of The Two Sicilies. Unfortunately, a second bone of contention between the two great western monarchies was found in the duchy of Milan.

Naples acquired by Spain, 1504.

Milan.—The duchy of Milan was legally a fief of the Holy Roman Empire, but was held at this time in practically independent possession by the family of a successful military adventurer of the name of Sforza. When Charles VIII. of

Struggle between France and Spain for the possession of Milan.

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France died in 1498 Louis XII., his successor, remembered that he was a descendant, in the female line, of a family, the Visconti, who had ruled in Milan before the Sforza family had become established. On the strength of this vague priority Louis resolved to supplant the Sforza upstart. Having invaded and conquered Milan in 1499, he held that city successfully until there was formed against him the Holy League, composed of the Pope, Venice, Spain, and England (1512). The Holy League quickly succeeded in driving the French out of Italy and in reinstating the Sforza family in their duchy. Louis XII. died in 1515 without having reconquered Milan, but his successor, Francis I., immediately upon his accession marched his army off to Italy. Charles VIII. had taken Naples and lost it again, Louis XII. had seized Milan only to be dispossessed, and now Francis I., as brimming with ambition as his predecessors, made a third assault on the peninsula. A brilliant victory at Marignano (1515), which delivered Milan into his hands, seemed to justify his step. For a short time now there was peace between France and Spain; but naturally the Spaniards saw with envy the extension of French influence over the north of Italy, and when Charles, king of Spain, was elected emperor in 1519 the necessary pretext for renewing the war with France was given into their hands. It has already been said that Milan was legally a fief of the Empire. In his capacity of emperor, Charles could find a ready justification for interfering in the affairs of his dependency. Immediately upon his election he resolved to challenge the right of the French to Milan, and so the French-Spanish wars in Italy were renewed.

Louis XII. conquers Milan, 1499.

Francis I. again conquers Milan, 1515.

Venice.—In the fifteenth century Venice was the strongest of all the Italian states. She called herself a republic, but was more truly an oligarchy, the power lying in the hands of the nobles, who composed the Great Council, controlled

The splendid position of Venice.

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the administration, and elected the chief dignitary, the doge or duke. The power of Venice was due to her immense trade and possessions in the eastern Mediterranean. The Crusades had opened her eyes to the resources of this region, and she had gradually taken possession of the Morea (Peloponnesus), Candia, Cyprus, and most of the islands of the Ægean and Ionian seas. In addition to these colonial territories she held the whole northeastern portion of Italy.

The decay of Venice.

The Renaissance is the period of Venetian glory; at the beginning of the Modern Period that glory was already rapidly waning. The first check to the continued prosperity of Venice was given by the Turks. Having begun their irresistible march through western Asia and eastern Europe, they wrenched from Venice, bit by bit, her Oriental trade and possessions. The second misfortune which befell the city of the lagoons was the discovery by Vasco da Gama of the sea-passage to India around the Cape of Good Hope. This discovery, by drawing off the Oriental commerce to the states of the Atlantic seaboard, struck a fatal blow at Venetian prosperity. And to these reverses in the east were added disasters in the west. Partly owing to her wealth, partly owing to her selfish policy, Venice had aroused the jealousy and hatred of her many neighbors, who finally agreed to lower her pride. In 1508 the emperor, the Pope, France, and Spain, formed against her the formidable League of Cambray. Although she managed by timely concessions to save herself from the noose which had been flung about her neck, she never again recovered her former prestige. She declined gradually during the whole Modern Period, but even in her decay remained one of the main bulwarks of Europe against the encroachments of the Turks. Finally, Napoleon made an end of her existence as an independent state in the year 1797.

Florence.—The republic of Florence, far-famed in the

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period of the Renaissance for its great artists and writers, had in the fifteenth century fallen under the domination of a native family, the Medici (Lorenzo the Magnificent, the greatest of the line, ruled from 1469 to 1492). The Medici did not greatly alter the republican forms, but by means of a clever political "ring" controlled the public offices. Against this concealed tyranny the people continued to protest in their hearts. When, therefore, the invasion of Charles VIII. (1494) offered a chance to cast off the Medicean yoke, the people rose, banished their tyrants, and reëstablished the republic. Girolamo Savonarola, a pure-minded, resolute, and devoted Dominican friar, who had through his stirring invectives against the general corruption of manners acquired a great following, became the popular hero and leader. For four years he exercised great influence in the government and labored ceaselessly at the reform of the morals of his wayward flock. During the period of Savonarola's supremacy Florence presented to her astonished contemporaries, who dwelt upon the free heights of the pagan Renaissance, the picture of a city dominated by a priestly faction. But in 1498 Savonarola's enemies compassed his overthrow and burned him at the stake. For a few more years the republic went on as best it could, until in 1512 the Medici reconquered the city. In 1527 the Florentines made a second and last attempt to regain their liberties. Again they cast the Medici out, but again the banished princes returned, this time (1529) with the help of Charles V., who now honored the head of the Medicean House, Alexander, by conferring upon him and his heirs Florence and her territory, under the name of the duchy (later the grand duchy) of Tuscany. Thus by a policy of sly and persistent encroachment the Medici became the hereditary rulers of their native city.

Florence subjected to the Medici.

Savonarola.

The return of the Medici.

The States of the Church.—During the period of the Renaissance the Popes, influenced by pagan ideas like the

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The states of the Church once more subjugated to the Pope.

rest of the world, inclined to sacrifice the principles of Christian faith and morality to the desire of being brilliant secular princes. Their dominant aspiration was to recover their lost control of the territory of the Church. This territory, running across the middle of the peninsula, formed an extensive possession, but had unfortunately fallen in large part into the hands of petty tyrants. Pope Alexander VI. (1492–1503), of the Spanish family of Borgia, infamous for his murders and excesses, may largely take the credit to himself of having carried the papal policy to a successful issue. Through the unscrupulous agency of his son, Cæsar Borgia, the petty tyrants of the papal states were got rid of, frequently by poison and assassination. The successor of Alexander VI., the mighty Julius II., completed Cæsar's work, and made the Pope absolute master in his dominions.

The Borgias.

Julius II. and Leo X. make Rome the artistic centre of Italy.

Julius II. (1503–13) and his successor, Leo X. (1513–21), are excellent examples of the Renaissance type of Pope. They showed no trace of mediæval austerity, or even of religious fervor; they looked upon their office as an unequalled opportunity for exercising authority and commanding the pleasures of the earth; and while they were ambitious, sensual, splendid, they responded also to the refined influences of the day. Both of them will always be remembered for their enthusiastic patronage of the arts, which made Rome, in their time and largely through their efforts, the artistic centre of Italy. It was during the Papacy of Leo X., who was a member of the famous Florentine family of the Medici, and whose interests were literary, artistic, social, in short, everything but religious, that there was raised in Germany the cry for reform which led to the Protestant schism. Luther wrestling with himself in the solitude of his cell and Leo feasting among pipers and buffoons make one of the notable contrasts of history.

Savoy.—In northwestern Italy, on the border of France, lay, among the snows of the Alps, the duchy of Savoy. At

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the beginning of the Modern Period the duke of Savoy was not yet an influential potentate, but he sat at the passes of the Alps, which he could open and shut, like a doorkeeper, at his pleasure or—for a consideration. This advantage of position he made shrewd use of, with the result that during the next centuries he waxed bigger and bigger, until finally his power surpassed that of any other prince of Italy. In the nineteenth century his house attained its final success in being called to reign over united Italy.

France.

REFERENCES: KITCHIN, History of France, Vol. II.; CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, Vol. I., Chapter XII.

The unification of France.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, under Charles VII. (1422–61) and Louis XI. (1461–83), France lost much of her mediæval and feudal character and assumed the form of an absolute monarchy. The great fiefs, through the extinction of the local reigning families, had largely come back into the hands of the king, and instead of giving them again to dukes and counts as hereditary possessions, he kept them for himself, ruling them through governors with revocable powers. He had also secured a national revenue by means of a land-tax called *taille*, of which he had free disposal; and he had created a standing army which was in his pay and rendered him independent of the ancient levy of the nobles. The reign of Louis XI. was rendered particularly noteworthy by the resumption of the great fiefs of Provence and Burgundy on the death of the last male heirs of these provinces. Under Louis's son, Charles VIII. (1483–98), fortune continued to smile upon the royal house, for by his marriage with the heiress of Brittany Charles secured the great fief in the northwest for his family, and practically completed the unification of France.

The *taille* and the standing army.

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The Estates General and Parliaments as checks upon the king.

These successes raised the king to such an eminence that it became probable that all checks upon his will would presently fail. Two such checks, however, still existed, and upon them would depend whether the monarch, fast verging upon absolutism, could be made to travel a constitutional path. These two institutions were: (1) the Estates General or session of the three classes, clergy, nobility, and commons, whom the king consulted in periods of distress but was not bound to obey, and (2) the Parliaments, which came finally to be thirteen in number, and among which the Parliament of Paris was by far the most important. These Parliaments (*parlements*) were not legislative bodies, as the current English use of the word implies, but supreme courts of justice. In tracing the history of the royal power we must give close attention henceforth to the Estates General and the Parliaments.

French ambition turns toward Italy.

Flattered by the proud position won by himself and his ancestors, Charles VIII. permitted his thoughts to range to foreign conquest. He undertook to conquer Naples on the strength of certain inherited claims, and in 1494 invaded Italy. But his policy of foreign conquest incited the hostility of his jealous neighbor Spain, and led to the great French-Spanish wars for the possession of Italy, which lasted, with occasional interruptions, for fifty years. The review of Italy has acquainted us with the early stages of this conflict. Charles VIII. after a brief triumph was forced to give up Naples. Finally it was ceded to Ferdinand of Spain (1504). Louis XII. of France (1498–1515) renewed the struggle in Italy by laying hold of the duchy of Milan, and though he was forced to give up Milan in 1512 (the Holy League), his successor, Francis I., immediately reconquered it by the victory of Marignano (1515). Thus between 1494 and 1515 France made three assaults upon the Apennine peninsula. Twice she had made a lodgment only to be evicted, and we

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shall presently see that her third conquest was no more durable than the other two.

Spain.

REFERENCES: HUME, The Spanish People, Chapters VIII., IX.; HUME, Spain, 1479–1788, Introduction; BURKE, History of Spain, Vol. II., Chapters XXXVII.–XLII.; LEA, A History of the Inquisition of Spain.

The unification of Spain.

The movement toward national unity and absolutism, just observed in France, is no less characteristic of the political development of Spain during the fifteenth century. The Spanish peninsula had suffered a sad eclipse in the early Middle Ages by being overrun by the Mohammedan Moors, who crossed the straits from Africa. Gradually the tide of conquest receded, and upon the liberated territory the Spaniards constructed a number of Christian states, which in the face of a common enemy inevitably tended to act in concert. A process of fusion began, which, though often interrupted, culminated in the fifteenth century in the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon (1479–1516) with Isabella of Castile (1474–1504). The kingdoms of Aragon and Castile both owed their greatness to their effective championship of the national cause against the Moors, and their union brought the greater part of the peninsula into the hands of a single family. Ferdinand and Isabella immediately turned their united strength against the hereditary foe, and in the year 1492 Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors, was captured. The Mohammedan power in Spain, which had lasted for eight centuries, had come to an end.

The conquest of the Moors, 1492.

The expansion of Spain.

The unification of Spain inaugurated a period of territorial expansion which can hardly be paralleled in history. In the same year in which the Moorish kingdom fell, Columbus discovered America and opened to Spain the vast dominion

America.

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Naples.

of the New World. Next, Ferdinand, drawn into war with France on account of the conquest of Naples by Charles VIII., beat the French, and seized the kingdom of Naples for himself (1504). In 1512 he further acquired that part

Navarre.

of the border kingdom of Navarre which lay upon the Spanish slope of the Pyrenees. Thus it happened that when Ferdinand was succeeded, upon his death, by his grandson Charles I. (1516–56), this young king found himself master

Charles I.

of the most extensive territories of the world. Although Charles was, merely by virtue of his position as king of Spain, the leading sovereign of Europe, he had additional interests and resources as ruler of the Netherlands and archduke of Austria, which raised him far above any rival. Finally, in 1519, the electors of the Empire made him emperor under the name of Charles V.

The growth of absolutism.

The growth of the royal power had meanwhile kept pace with the territorial extension of Spain. With the aid of the cities, which were, as already explained, the natural allies of the monarch, Ferdinand and Isabella put down the robber-knights, the pest of every feudal country. They thus made the highways safe for the caravans of trade and gave peace to the land. Like all mediæval sovereigns, the monarchs of Aragon and Castile were more or less subject to their barons, who, when they met in formal session, called themselves the Cortes. As early as the twelfth century the representatives of the cities were admitted to

The Cortes.

the Cortes, whereupon the proud nobles of Castile, largely, it would seem, from disgust at this enforced association with commoners, began to withdraw from the parliamentary body. It was a stupid action, practically shattering the political power of the nobility. But the loss of the nobles was the gain of the sovereign, and when he now began to ride rough-shod over the commoners, the Cortes entered upon a slow decline. In Castile they dropped off

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first, while in Aragon they showed some vigor as late as the reign of Philip II. (d. 1598).

But the event which, more than the decline of the Cortes, contributed to the extension of the central power was the introduction of that institution, so intimately associated with our conception of Spain, the Inquisition. The fundamental idea of the Inquisition is a committee of inquiry to ferret out and punish religious heresy. Such inquisitorial bodies were frequently organized both by Church and state during the Middle Ages. Spain did not originate the idea, she only took it up and gave it a new and effective expression. The country had a large population of Mohammedans and Jews, and in a period when every nation was animated with a blind passion for its particular religion, and when the modern idea of toleration was everywhere unknown, the alternative was to convert the man of another faith or put him to death. Add that in this case the man of the strange faith was also an alien in blood, and you have a double reason for treating him with rigor. The unity of the nation as well as the unity of the Church demanded his expulsion as a poison likely to infect the whole frame. The people of Spain chose to take this dark view of the heretical and unassimilated peoples in their midst, and the government of Ferdinand and Isabella adopted the opinion, and created, with the aid of the Church, the system of repression called the Inquisition. Tribunals, supporting a special police force and their own prisons, and operating with the secrecy and silence of the grave, were created at various places, and the whole organization was put in charge of a Grand Inquisitor. How solemnly this institution interpreted its task is witnessed by the fact that during the reign of the first Grand Inquisitor, Thomas de Torquemada, who held the office for fifteen years (1483–1498), about 9,000 persons were burned alive, 6,000 were burned in effigy, and 90,000 were condemned to ecclesiasti-

The Inquisition.

The work of the first Grand Inquisitor.

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The *auto-da-fé*.

cal and civil penalties.[1] The death by fire, a public performance dignified under the name of *auto-da-fé*, or act of faith, drew large crowds of interested, applauding, and even devout spectators. The vast majority of the Spanish people, it has just been said, approved of the Inquisition. But they paid a heavy penalty for their lamentable intolerance by subjecting themselves to a terrible and invisible authority and by depriving their minds of that vigor and elasticity which result from the free and unhindered play of ideas. In consequence, they never developed those mental qualities which lead to an intelligent political opposition, and fell helplessly under the absolute yoke of the king.

England.

REFERENCES: GARDINER, A Student's History of England, pp. 343–61; GREEN, A Short History of the English People, pp. 288–303; TERRY, History of England, pp. 494–512.

York and Lancaster.

England passed through momentous vicissitudes in the fifteenth century. Under the ambitious monarch Henry V. she had become engaged in a policy of foreign conquest. But though Henry V. had conquered France, Henry VI. (1422–61) had lost all his continental possessions again except Calais. Worse than this, under this same well-intentioned but weak-spirited monarch she fell a prey to civil war. The House of York, related to the reigning House of Lancaster, ventured to put forth a claim to the throne, and the war that ensued, called the War of the Roses, lasted until 1485. In that year Richard III., the last direct male heir of the House of York, was defeated and killed at the battle of Bosworth. The victor, himself of the House of

[1] These figures are probably exaggerated. A careful Catholic historian (Gams) estimates the executions from 1481 to 1504 at 2,000.

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Tudor, but at the same time a descendant on the female side of the House of Lancaster, succeeded to the throne as Henry VII. (1485–1509). Through the marriage of Henry VII. to Elizabeth, a daughter of Edward IV. of the House of York, the new House of Tudor united the claims of both contending houses. The situation, as is usual after bitter internal broils, remained precarious, and Henry had to face several civil disturbances in his reign; but as he had the Parliament and the nation back of him, he managed to maintain order and bring the ruinous War of the Roses to an end.

The House of Tudor.

Under Henry, an extremely able and cautious man, there grew up in England the "strong Tudor monarchy." Compared with such warrior predecessors as Edward III. and Henry V., Henry VII. exhibits the figure of a crafty and suspicious politician. For such a one the situation offered a unique opportunity. Traditionally, the power in England lay in the hands of the king and the Parliament, composed of the two houses of the Lords and the Commons. But as at this time the House of Lords was more influential than the House of Commons, the power in England lay practically, as everywhere in feudal times, with king and lords, lay and spiritual. Now the long civil war, which was really a war of two noble factions ranged under the banners of York and Lancaster, had made great havoc among the ranks of the nobility. Moreover, it had confirmed among the trading middle classes the desire for peace. The king found the nobility diminished in authority, and the common people disposed to concur in the repression of the ruling class. He determined to profit by this situation. It will be remembered that absolutism was in the air at the time, as is witnessed by the case of France and Spain. Without breaking any laws Henry managed to reduce to a minimum the importance of his partner in the government, the Parliament, by the simple

Henry VII. founds the "strong monarchy."

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device of calling it together as little as possible. Only twice during the last thirteen years of his reign did he take counsel with the representatives of the nation. Parliament was legally associated with him in governing England, but when it did not occupy the stage he was left without a rival.

Henry curbs the nobles.

Perhaps no other matter claimed so much of Henry's attention as the danger arising to the commonwealth from the nobility. They were in the habit of defying the law through their strong castles, their numerous following, and their power to control or overawe the local courts. By the statutes against "livery and maintenance" he forbade them to keep armed and liveried retainers; then, to weaken them further, he assumed the right to summon them before a special court of justice called the Star Chamber Court, which sat at London, was composed of members of his council, and was dependent on himself. The protection of the local courts, which they dominated by threats or influence, was thereby rendered useless. Peace, rapid and complete, was the result. Of course the credit of the king was greatly augmented. In fact, England would have fallen as completely into the hands of her sovereign as France had done, if the law had not remained upon her statute-books that the king could raise no tax without the consent of his Parliament. This provision neither Henry VII. nor any of his successors dared to set aside. Thus, although not strictly observed, it remained the law of the land, and in the course of time, when the common people had acquired wealth and self-reliance, it was destined to become the weapon by which the "strong monarchy" was struck to the ground and Parliament set in the monarch's place.

Parliament remains in control of taxation.

Henry's policy of peace.

It was chiefly to rid himself of Parliament and to strengthen the monarchy internally that Henry kept clear of foreign war. War would have required money, and money

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would have required a session of Parliament, from which might have come an interference with the king's plans. Henry, who had the sound sense to be satisfied with doing one thing thoroughly, did not let himself be drawn from his home plans by the prospect of barren victories abroad.

Henry secures a claim to North America.

It was during the reign of Henry VII. that Columbus discovered America. England was not yet a great sea-power, but Henry managed to secure at least a claim to the New World by sending out John Cabot, who, in 1497, discovered the continent of North America.

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CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH

REFERENCES: EMERTON, Mediæval Europe, Chapter XVI. (excellent); VAN DYKE, Age of the Renascence (primarily a history of the Papacy); ROBINSON, History of Western Europe, Chapters XVI., XVII.; LEA, A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages, 3 vols. (a scholarly account of mediæval heresies, abuses, and the origin of the friars); LEA, A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences, 3 vols.; JESSOPP, The Coming of the Friars; CREIGHTON, History of the Papacy (councils, the temporal power, the first phase of the Reformation; from a Protestant point of view); PASTOR, History of the Popes (1305–1513) (a scholarly work by a Catholic).

SOURCE READINGS: ROBINSON, Readings in European History, Vol. I., Chapters II., XVI., XVII.; THATCHER and MCNEAL, A Source Book for Mediæval History, Sections V. and VIII.; Vol. III., No. 6 (heresies, Albigenses, etc.); TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS, University of Pennsylvania, Vol. IV., No. 4 (examples of ex-communication and interdict).

The mediæval Church is a state.

IT would be like giving a play without the hero to enumerate the states of Europe at the beginning of the Modern Period without presenting the greatest state of all—the Church. For a citizen of the twentieth century, above all for an American citizen, it is very difficult to realize what the Church was before the movement called the Reformation. For most of us a church is simply an organization which provides for the spiritual welfare of its members. This purpose the mediæval Church tried to satisfy and in the

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fullest degree, but it also did a great deal more, and by exercising authority over its subjects in a great many matters that are now considered to belong more properly to the civil government, acquired the character of a state. We must, therefore, accustom ourselves to think of the mediæval Church not only as a spiritual association, but also as endowed with many of the essential functions of a state. Let us examine it under this double aspect, turning first to its organization.

Extent and organization of the Church

The Church embraced all western Europe, and all nations from Poland to Spain, from Ireland to Italy, owed allegiance to it. Its head was the Pope, who resided at his capital, Rome, and exercised an immense power by reason of the fact that he controlled the election of the bishops, appointed to many ecclesiastical offices, and approved all legislation. The territory of the Church was divided into dioceses, at the head of which stood bishops, while the dioceses were subdivided into parishes, presided over by priests. Priest, bishop, Pope, gives the ascending scale of the essential governing officials of the Church; but there are others which we cannot afford to neglect. Several dioceses were for the sake of convenience thrown together into a province, and one of the bishops thereof granted a kind of headship, under the name of archbishop. Legates were important officials in the nature of ambassadors, who carried the Pope's commands abroad, and spoke in his name. Very noteworthy were the cardinals. They were the highest dignitaries under the Pope, were associated with him in governing the Church, and upon them, constituted as a college or board, devolved the important business of electing each new successor of St. Peter.

The monks.

This organization went back in the main to very early Christian times. In the course of the Middle Ages there had grown up another body of churchmen who exercised

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great influence—the monks. The monks were organized in societies called orders, dwelt in monasteries, and owned much land and many churches. The earliest and most famous order was the Benedictines, with the Cistercians, Carthusians, and others following in their footsteps. Later, in the thirteenth century, the two famous orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, came into being, fashioned in the heat of a great religious revival and pledged to ideals somewhat different from those of their earlier brethren. The older orders—all organized more or less on the Benedictine type—emphasized the life of studious contemplation of divine things in seclusion from the world and its temptations. The Franciscans and Dominicans, on the other hand, sought out the crowded centres to dispense among the poor and heavy-laden the offices of Christian charity. Dedicated to poverty, chastity, and obedience, and seeking their living, at least at first, from door to door, they were distinguished from the older monks under the name of begging brothers or friars (from Latin *frater*, *i.e.*, brother).

The friars.

The heads of monasteries were called abbots or priors. They and their flocks were usually subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocese they resided, but occasionally individual abbots and, in the case of the begging friars, the orders themselves had obtained the right from the Pope to be responsible only to him. Naturally the Pope profited by this arrangement, for he acquired an army of immediate adherents. But the Pope's gain was the bishop's loss. In every diocese there was created a sharp competition, because the bishop and his following of priests looked with unconcealed displeasure upon the abbot or prior with his rival host of monks and friars, and many were the regions that were riven with this conflict.

The rivalry between abbots and bishops.

The officials of the Church from Pope to priest, and including the monastic orders, formed one of the component

The clergy is the first estate.

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classes of the feudal state, and were called the clergy. The importance of the clergy appears from the fact that they everywhere composed *the first estate.* The rest of the inhabitants constituted the laity. The laity, however, in its turn, consisted of two classes, an upper, embracing the nobility, called *the second estate,* and a lower, composed of commoners—that is, merchants, peasants, artisans, and day-laborers—and named *the third estate.* In the government of the Church the laity had no voice whatever, for that privilege was reserved exclusively to the clergy, in recognition of the fact that only through their mediation, and by reason of the authority and jurisdiction vested in them, could the great work of saving human souls be carried on.

Clergy and laity.

We have now seen how the Church was governed. We have also seen that there was a governing class of Christians of particular distinction called clergy, set over a far more numerous class called laity. Even so, if the governing clergy had governed only in matters spiritual, there would be no reason for speaking of the Church as a state. But it engaged in other, distinctly secular activities, in the enumeration of which its judicial prerogatives deserve the first place. The Church possessed its own body of law called canon law, made up of acts of councils and decisions of Popes, and pronounced justice in its own courts. To these courts, conducted by ecclesiastics in ecclesiastical buildings, the clergy were exclusively answerable, which means that they could not be cited before the civil courts, while the laity itself had to appeal to them in many matters, such as marriage and divorce, which the state has since taken under its own jurisdiction. From this situation it followed that the individual ecclesiastic owed a primary allegiance to the Church, while the individual layman was expected to render obedience to two states, each claiming sovereignty over him in certain respects.

The Church has its own system of justice.

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The Church taxes, marries, educates.

The Church also levied taxes. Finding the income from its immense estates insufficient to maintain its organization, it collected in every community of Europe a tax called tithe, amounting, as the word indicates, to one-tenth of the annual produce of the soil. If we add that the Church had complete control of marriage and divorce, probated wills, and had charge of education—all matters considered nowadays to belong to the competence of the state—we get some idea of the varied activity of the clergy in the Middle Ages. But let no one dream for a moment that these prerogatives were unlawful usurpations. They were exercised by the Church by universal consent, and every unprejudiced student will acknowledge that they were exercised in the main to the advantage of humanity. But they show very clearly that the Church of the Middle Ages discharged many of the functions which are reserved at present to the state.

Relation of Church and state.

A curious subject for modern reflection is how this state contrived at all to accord with the various civil states with which it existed side by side, and which it in a sense comprised. To begin with, the harmony was never perfect. The Church trenched upon so many prerogatives that were of the essence of sovereignty, that the state, also claiming sovereignty, grew jealous and alarmed. Two heads of equal authority are calculated to produce discord in this imperfect world, and yet, none the less, the Church and state, united for better and for worse, endured one another for many centuries. The explanation of the prolonged union lies in the fact that whenever there was a clash the weaker gave way, and the weaker in the Middle Ages was usually the state. This subordination of the civil to the spiritual, so astonishing to the modern mind, is explained by the favor with which the people of all classes regarded the Church. Quite apart from the awe which it inspired as the dispenser of eternal bliss, it had conferred so large a number of solid

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benefits in protecting the weak against the strong, in preaching peace, and in spreading enlightenment that men looked up to it with love and trust, and defended it, when occasion arose, against all opponents, including the state.

The Church as the means of saving souls.

So much for the power and the splendor of the Church. And yet not to recognize at the heart and core of this magnificent structure, covering the whole earth, the simple mission of saving souls which it had received from Christ, would be to take the shell and let the kernel go. Whatever else the Church did, it certainly considered its main business to be the guidance of mankind in the spirit of Christ's teachings, and in this mystic calling lay its chief hold upon the mediæval mind. The Church received the new-born babe into its fold immediately after birth with the rite of baptism. If the growing boy sought instruction, he could get it only from the schools conducted by the clergy, for there were no others. Sin could be wiped out by repentance, but only the priest had the power to certify the Lord's forgiveness by means of confession and absolution. Marriage could be celebrated only with the sanction of the Church. Finally, when a man died, the priest granted or refused his body Christian burial. So from the cradle to the grave the Christian walked the path of life with his hand, like a child's, in the hand of his mother, the Church. The modern man relies, or aspires to rely, largely on his individual strength. We have remarked how this characteristic was fostered by the Renaissance. Since that time many men, perhaps presumptuously, have not been afraid to face the mysteries beyond the veil alone and unsupported. The mediæval man abominated any such pretension as hollow and blasphemous. The Church was founded upon a rock, the one sure and abiding thing in a world of change. She had arisen in obedience to a fiat that fell from the mouth of God; she had been dowered with grace to cleanse man from the consequences of sin

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and reconcile him with the Father; finally, to him who yielded perfect obedience she opened, after a period of probation in purgatory, the gates of paradise. All this was accepted with such unconditional faith that the least doubt was looked upon as an enormity, and in case of persistence, invariably punished with death.

It was this sacred character of the Church that made that appeal to which men have ever been most susceptible. With hearts filled with piety and reverence they looked to her as the one sure door to salvation. And here we must enter for a moment the difficult realm of theology. The Church, recognizing the advantage of system, had taken the mystic faiths and practices of the early Christians and given them a precise theological formulation under the name of the seven sacraments. Chiefly by means of them the Church performed its work of saving souls, and when in the period of the Reformation the whole manner of this work was challenged, it was the sacraments that formed the particular object of Protestant attack. Without a knowledge of them the movement inaugurated by Luther must remain a riddle.

The seven sacraments.

1 Ordination. The fundamental sacrament was that of *ordination*, performed only by the bishop, and conferring upon the candidate to priesthood the sacerdotal character with the authority and power to perform other sacraments. By the sacrament

2. Baptism. of *baptism* the new-born child was received into the membership of the Church. The holy water on his brow was a symbolic act, signifying that his share in the guilt of Adam's fall was washed away. When the boy reached the age of about twelve years he received, after due instruction in

3. Confirmation. the creed, *confirmation* from the bishop, who rubbed holy oil and balsam on his forehead. The significance of this act was to strengthen him to resist temptation. The sac-

4. Marriage. rament of *marriage* bound man and wife in a holy bond

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which must never be sundered. At the hour of death the priest stood by the bedside, and by anointing the dying man with holy oil strengthened the soul to pass through its ordeal. This was called the sacrament of *extreme* (or last) *unction*. If a man fell victim to temptation and sinned—and in the view of the Church man, owing to his wicked nature, was constantly sinning—he could receive pardon only by the sacrament of *penance*. This consisted of four parts: contrition over the sin committed, satisfaction (or reparation) for the sinful act, confession to a priest, and absolution by the priest. Finally there was the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. It is the kernel of the mass, the noble and ancient service of the Church. During mass the bread and wine offered at the altar are mystically changed into the body and blood of Christ and given to the faithful in communion. The mystic change is called transubstantiation.

5. Extreme unction.

6. Penance.

7. Holy Eucharist or the Lord's Supper.

Consequences of the sacramental system.

It will be observed that one sacrament, ordination, conferred upon the priest an especial quality and character. On this quality rested largely the claim of the clergy to be regarded as a body entirely distinct from the laity, and alone fitted to carry on the government of the Church. Other important consequences of the sacramental system demand attention. Since the sacraments were administered exclusively by the clergy, and since there was no salvation for sinful man without them, it follows not only that the clergy acquired an absolute command over all souls, but also that any requirements imposed in connection with the sacraments had to be conscientiously fulfilled. This brings us to the important matter of works, so fiercely attacked in the period of the Reformation. Not only did the sacraments, as described, impose a considerable number of ceremonious acts, but in the sacrament of penance lay the germ of a great many performances which require a further word. In addition to contrition, confession, and absolution, penance

The sacraments encourage the belief in works.

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to be complete called also for satisfaction. Now the theory of satisfaction is that, although the sin is forgiven by God by virtue of contrition, confession, and absolution, there remain certain temporal punishments which must be *satisfied* either in this world through good works or in the next by prolonged punishment in purgatory.[1] It will be seen that penance with its demand for satisfaction encouraged the performance of good works, which might take the form of pilgrimages, acts of charity, or contributions to the ecclesiastical building fund, and which would be moral and exalting if not performed mechanically or through fear. And therewith we reach a later outgrowth and adjunct of the sacrament of penance—the Indulgences. The Church came to believe that the temporal punishment which according to the theologians is a sure consequence of sin, can be remitted by means of the application of the treasure of the Church. The treasure of the Church is the whole sum of the merits of Jesus Christ, in addition to all the good works of all the saints. The saints and martyrs suffered with patience many unjust tribulations, which, reckoned as merits, more than sufficed to expiate such sins as they themselves may have committed while on earth. All such good works in excess of what they needed to make satisfaction for their own sins are called works of supererogation, comprise the treasure of the Church, and may at the discretion of the Church, that is, of its head the Pope, be applied to the benefit of others, who are lacking in such good works. One of the ways in which the Pope distributes the treasure of merits is by means of personal certificates, issued for a greater or a lesser fee, and called Indulgences.

Indulgences.

Indulgences and the treasure of merits.

[1] The functions, according to Catholic theology, of hell, purgatory, and paradise are clearly brought out by the following quotation from the manual of Father Dati: "There are many Christians who when they die are neither so perfectly pure and clean as to enter heaven, nor so burdened with unrepented deadly sin as to go to hell. Such as these the Church believes to be, for a time, in a middle state, called purgatory."

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Since the clergy were the most exalted and richest class in Europe—the first estate—they paid the usual price of power by more than ordinary exposure to temptation. All through the Middle Ages serious charges of corruption were preferred against them. Occasionally Popes and prelates inaugurated a reform, but in spite of these praiseworthy efforts the abuses persisted or cropped up again. Human nature is weak and frail even under surplice and cowl. The chief abuse was perhaps simony—the buying and selling of Church offices. The Church officially recognized simony as a sin, but many clergymen and even Popes were none the less guilty of it. So long as abbacies and bishoprics produced huge revenues, it is easy to see how ambitious men should crave their possession even at the price of bribery. Another charge against the upper clergy was that they lived in pride and worldliness, quite out of keeping with followers of Christ and the apostles. Many rode to hunt and even to war, and lived in splendid palaces amid a round of festivals. The lower clergy were accused of squeezing excessive fees out of the parishioners for marriage, burial, and other necessary services, and there is reason to believe that many ecclesiastics of all ranks were guilty of gross carnal vices. To this latter charge the monks in particular seem to have laid themselves open.

Corruption of the clergy.

Simony.

Worldliness.

Fees.

Sensuality.

These shortcomings of the clergy were scourged by ardent and upright priests all through the Middle Ages, sometimes even by men occupying the highest ecclesiastical positions. It did not derogate from the Church to make public recognition of the fact that some of its ministers were unworthy. Here then was a field of permissible criticism. But it was different when criticism began to gnaw at the organization and doctrine of the Church, stamped with a holy and unalterable character, and proclaimed and lauded as God's own handiwork. Against such critics the Church

Permissible and impermissible criticism.

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Excommunication.

was armed with formidable weapons. She branded them as heretics, and launched her excommunication against them, excluding them from her fellowship and the association of the living. There she left them, for an ancient principle forbade her to shed blood; but the state, at this juncture, stepped in to seize the heretic as a public enemy and put him to death, usually by fire.

Heresy in the Middle Ages.

In spite of these rigorous measures heresy and heretics were not uncommon in the Middle Ages. Even in that period of authority some men were inclined to urge their individual convictions. Of the occasional isolated heretics, who were perpetually cropping up at odd corners of Europe, there is no need to speak. But there were concerted movements, affecting a wide area, which really jeopardized the existence of the Church. Of these collective heresies, two, the Waldensian and the Albigensian, gave the Church much concern about the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Waldensian movement originated with Peter Waldo of

Waldensians and Albigensians.

Lyons, who preached poverty, humility, and personal sanctification. He did not attack the Church directly, but professed to be able to do without it as a means of salvation. The Albigensians, who were particularly strong in a town of southern France called Albi—hence their name—went much further, asserting that the religion of their time was false and the Church a usurper. The Church treated both sects as enemies, but naturally felt more implacably hostile toward the Albigensians. When the ordinary method of excommunication proved ineffective, Pope Innocent III. in 1208 preached a crusade against them, which resulted in their being crushed in a general and horrible massacre. To complete the work of the crusade, the Inquisition was invented. It was composed of special tribunals, that is, ecclesiastical law-courts, which investigated disbelief, and brought the offenders to punishment. This is the first appearance of this

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famous institution, which afterward acquired so unenviable a reputation in Spain.

But the tale of mediæval heresy does not end here. In the fourteenth century John Wyclif of England attacked the Pope, criticised Indulgences, pilgrimages, and other features of the Church, and soon boasted a considerable following. He himself was not seriously molested, and died peaceably in his bed in 1384; however, his followers, called Lollards, were presently persecuted and hunted to death. But criticism was in the air and had come to stay. Wyclif, dying, passed on the torch of protest to John Huss of Bohemia, and when Huss was sentenced to be burned at the stake by the General Council of the Church, sitting at Constance (1415), his death raised such a commotion among his countrymen and followers that, although crusade after crusade was preached against them, they were not crushed for many years. Wyclif. Huss.

As Wyclif followed the Waldensians, and Huss Wyclif, so Huss found a successor in Martin Luther. The revolt inaugurated by him stamped its name and character on the first century of the Modern Period. Why Luther's movement succeeded where so many earlier ones had failed will appear in the following pages.

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PART I

THE REFORMATION

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CHAPTER IV

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY TO THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG (1555)

REFERENCES: JOHNSON, Europe in the Sixteenth Century, Chapters II., III., IV., V.; HENDERSON, A Short History of Germany, Vol. I., Chapters X.–XV.; FISHER, History of the Reformation, Chapters III., IV., V.; KÖSTLIN, Life of Luther; BEARD, Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany until the Close of the Diet of Worms; EMERTON, Desiderius Erasmus (excellent); ARMSTRONG, Charles V.; CREIGHTON, History of the Papacy Vol. V., (a Protestant view of Luther and the revolt); JANSSEN, History of the German People Vol. III., (a Catholic view of Luther); THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, Vol. I., Chapters XVI., XVII.; Vol. II., Chapters V.–VIII.

SOURCE READINGS: TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS, University of Pennsylvania, Vol. II., No. 6 (the ninety-five theses, the twelve articles of the peasants); WACE and BUCHHEIM, Luther's Primary Works (contains the ninety-five theses and three important pamphlets); ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapters XXIV., XXV., XXVI.; LUTHER, Table Talk.

Uplift of German life in the Renaissance.

WE are aware from our general survey that Germany at the beginning of the Modern Period was a federal state, known officially as the Holy Roman Empire; that this federal state was almost ludicrously weak and disorganized; and that under Maximilian I. (1493–1519) some slight improvement had taken place in consequence of a general

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cry for reform. The movement for reform was itself the result of the uplift of German life which had set in with the Renaissance. Having followed the awakened German people in their demand for an improved organization of government, let us now take note how the Renaissance affected their thought and life, and above all altered their ancient relation to the Church. In observing these phenomena we acquaint ourselves with the origin of the greatest movement of the sixteenth century, the Reformation.

The Protestant revolution results from the general progress of the world.

We have referred to the Albigenses, Wyclif, and Huss to show that the Church did not rule unchallenged even in the Middle Ages. The weakness of these movements of protest was that they sprung from special conditions and remained localized. The defiance flung down by Luther in the sixteenth century was much more intimately bound up with the whole life and progress of the time. In fact, the Reformation would have been impossible without that vigorous forward movement called the Renaissance. Therefore, the Italian trader when he brought back to Europe the spices of Arabia, Columbus when he discovered America, and Gutenberg when he invented printing, may be said to have helped prepare it. But chiefly the movement of Luther had, from its nature, to be matured in the realm of the spirit. The mediæval Church owed its power to the fact that it had its root in the universal mind of Europe; in the mind and by the mind alone could it be successfully attacked. Thus the origin of the revolt led by Luther, although it was fed from a score of sources, can be most clearly followed in the history of that intellectual revolution already touched upon under the name of the revival of learning.

Italian and German humanism compared.

The revival of learning, originating in Italy, was essentially an attempt to replace the dry and profitless scholastic studies by the fresh fountains of life which flowed in classical

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literature. From Italy the movement spread over Europe, but naturally in every country it was modified in accordance with the national character. When it reached Germany it quickened, much as in Italy, the interest in the classics and instilled in men a new joyousness, but it was mainly serviceable in giving a fresh vigor to the old theological studies. The Italian, with his lively sensations and impulsive temperament, became so entirely identified with the secular side of the new learning that he was seized with a violent revulsion of feeling against all that signified the Middle Ages. He was tempted to cut loose from the Church entirely, as from an exploded superstition, and many humanists frankly threw over their old faith as useless ballast and avowed themselves to be pagans. Not so the German students. They had been profoundly interested in theology in the Middle Ages and they sturdily remained true to their old love in the Renaissance; only, inspired by the light that had risen in Italy, they resolved that the whole body of Church lore must be critically examined and harmonized. The Italian humanists had quickened the historical instinct by opening an avenue to classical antiquity. Would not the German humanists be performing an equally important service to mankind if they found the way back to Palestine and the primitive bases of Christianity? Here then lay the special work which the German humanists undertook. They turned to the Fathers of the Church and to the Bible itself, in order to drink of the original fountains of their faith. With their new knowledge they then approached the Church of their own day, and were not slow to discover and publish to the world its many shortcomings. Theirs was a double work of scholarship and criticism, which went on side by side.

The German humanists.

These German humanists tried to wedge their way into the universities and naturally met with resistance from the old-time theologians, virulent enemies of anything that

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smacked of free investigation. However, by the beginning of the sixteenth century a considerable number of seats of learning, with Erfurt and Wittenberg at their head, had opened their doors to the new thought. One of the pioneers in university circles was John Reuchlin (1455–1522), through whose life we can perhaps best get at what was significant in German humanism. Reuchlin had been led by his interest in the Old Testament to the study of Hebrew, of which language he published a grammar and lexicon in 1506. It constituted a notable achievement of scholarship in his day, but to the theologian of the old school the occupation with Hebrew, the tongue of a detested people who had rebelled against God, was nothing short of sin. Reuchlin was venomously attacked by the professors of the university of Cologne, who were Dominican friars of a conservative and backward type. Universities, it must be remembered, were at that time still conducted as adjuncts of the Church, and were largely in the hands of the various orders of monks. The humanists gathered around their threatened leader, and a war of pamphlets followed, which is chiefly remarkable for having stirred up public opinion and for having carried the humanistic propaganda out of the restricted university circle into the ranks of general society. One incident of the literary polemic made an indelible impression. Reuchlin's friends published an impertinent satire, called the "Letters of Obscure Men" (1515–17), which purported to be a series of epistles written by former students and admirers to one of the Cologne professors. The fun lay in having the fossilized theologians reveal, by means of an intimate correspondence from which all restraints were removed, their own ignorance, narrow-mindedness, and secret viciousness, and all this in an even exaggerated version of the grotesque Latin current among the schoolmen. Much of the sport was of the nature of rude horse-play, but it did its

Reuchlin.

The "Letters of Obscure Men."

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work, and fairly buried the old theology under a tempest of inextinguishable laughter, which swept the length and breadth of Germany.

Hutten.

Ulrich von Hutten (d. 1523), who had a hand in the composition of the "Letters of Obscure Men," is another interesting figure of this period. While Reuchlin is exclusively the scholar, the professor, Hutten is more the literary man and journalist, who popularizes the results of scholarship. The critical material which humanism, whether in Italy or Germany, supplied, he forged into a weapon wherewith he smote the defenders of the old abuses in Church and state. He wrote in his native German, frankly seeking to reach the people, and with his biting pen made many converts.

Erasmus.

But the most important figure in the humanistic circles of Germany as well as of all Europe was Erasmus (1467–1536). Though born at Rotterdam he lived in turn in every country of Europe, and always regarded himself as a cosmopolitan. No humanist exercised so wide an empire as he, for, though a scholar, he did not bury himself in solitude, but grappled with the burning questions of the day. He wrote in Latin, which was still so generally read and spoken that its use secured to the writer the educated classes of all Europe as an audience.

Erasmus and the New Testament.

Erasmus's most important work of scholarship was his edition, the first to appear in print, of the New Testament in the original Greek (1516). It was the opening shot in the long war of Biblical criticism, which has agitated the world ever since. He added a Latin translation, piously hoping to create an enthusiasm which would lead to the translation of the Scriptures into all the tongues, and raise them into what they never were in the Middle Ages, a household book. "I long," he wrote, "that the husbandman should sing them to himself as he follows the plough, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle,

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that the traveller should beguile with them the weariness of his journey."

Erasmus popularizes classical culture.

Thus in close connection with his work of erudition Erasmus pursued the aim of popular improvement, in the belief that men must be better educated if the ills of society were ever to diminish, and the reign of sweetness and light be established. His many editions and anthologies of the Latin authors were all put out in this spirit, and even his occasional satirical writings were informed with this same noble sentiment. His most famous production in this vein was his

His satirical writings.

"Praise of Folly" (1509), wherein he lashes mercilessly the luxury of the prelates, the wars of ambitious princes, and, above all, the slothfulness and bigotry of the monks, whom he especially detested. But the book, though attacking abuses, is far from irreligious, for this great scholar typifies the spirit of northern humanism in that he always strove to walk in the ways of the Lord.

The early humanists criticise, but do not fall away from the Church.

Germany was in the midst of the intellectual agitation sown by Erasmus, Reuchlin, and their followers when Martin Luther made his appearance. He was the heir of their theological studies, to which he brought an even more fearlessly critical spirit than theirs; but he had also an impulsiveness, lacking in them, which soon plunged him into mortal strife with the old theology and the old Church. To the fighting platform which he presently adopted only the younger section of the humanists was willing to subscribe; many of the older men, with Erasmus at their head, deprecated the violent turn of affairs and repudiated Luther's leadership. They had dreamed of reform by means of a gradual enlightenment of the human race, and now they were plunged into a state of war profoundly abhorrent to their refined and scholarly temperament. Their disappointment rose to a high pitch, and Erasmus gradually withdrew from the public eye to sulk out the rest of his life in his study.

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What he failed to see was that the explosive attack of Luther was the inevitable practical climax of the scholarship and criticism to which he and his friends had dedicated their lives.

Martin Luther. Martin Luther was born November 10, 1483, in a village at the foot of the Harz Mountains. His ancestry for many generations back had been hard-working peasants, and peasant sturdiness and simplicity, with much of peasant obstinacy and superstition, remained characteristic of this son of the soil to the end of his days. By personal sacrifices his parents managed to send young Martin to the university of Erfurt for the purpose of making a lawyer of him, but in the year 1505, following what appears to have been an irresistible religious impulse, he abandoned his legal studies and joined the Augustinian order of friars. He took his new duties with such grim seriousness that he soon won the applause of his superiors and was rapidly advanced in honor and responsibility. The elector of Saxony had lately founded a new university at Wittenberg. In 1508 Luther was added to its faculty and rose soon to be professor of theology. Shortly after (1511), he was sent to Rome on business of his order, and at the capital of Christianity received an indelible impression of the corruption of its governors. On his return he assumed also the duties of preacher in the town church, and rapidly became a moral force in the community. All things considered, Luther, on approaching middle age, was embarked upon a career unfolding a prospect of great influence and success.

Luther's doubts. But much more important to Luther than these worldly preferments were the doubts and questions which beset him all the days of his youth. We have seen that the mediæval Church maintained the conception of an offended God to be appeased by sinful man by means of the sacraments and holy works, involving confession, prayers, pilgrimages, fasts,

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and flagellations. The theology of the Church insisted emphatically on faith and contrition, but by the multiplication of ceremonies and outward acts of worship, the necessity of the soul seeking to put itself at peace with God, as a preliminary to all else, was frequently neglected. Luther observed that the average layman was imagining that he was a good Christian when he went mechanically through his round of ceremonies. He went through them conscientiously himself, but when they failed to appease his scruples he began to look about for another avenue of approach to God. Being a man of an essentially religious disposition, his doubts became a moral torture until he was visited by the illumination that God descended like a dove of peace upon all who put their simple faith in Him. Faith—that was all which God required to lift His creature to a state of grace. Luther largely drew his convictions on this point from the Epistles of his hero St. Paul, and presently published them with fervor as a rediscovered truth. Such they hardly were, for faith was a pillar of the mediæval Church—let the reader to assure himself examine the sacrament of penance; but the abundance of works had succeeded in covering the pillar until it was almost hidden from view beneath a thick, parasitic growth. By emphasizing faith Luther harked back to a more primitive type of Christianity, and in any case formulated the doctrine which is the common basis of all Protestant churches.

Justification by faith.

Again let it be said that Luther's favorite doctrine of justification by faith was not in any essential disagreement with the teachings of the Church. The view, still largely prevailing among Protestants, that the Church was content to prescribe a round of hollow practices, is based on ignorance. Nevertheless, since externals were overdone in Luther's day, he saw fit to extol faith as the sole door to salvation, and, in the heat of quarrel, derived from this primary

Luther's doctrine implies an attack on the clergy and the sacramental system.

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position a number of consequences which the Church angrily rejected. Faith, illuminating personal faith, such as Luther urged, implied man's direct union with God without the mediation of a priesthood. But the whole Church rested on the conception of a priestly caste, to which the administration of the sacraments, the accepted means of salvation, was intrusted. Therefore Luther's teaching of faith logically carried with it an attack upon the clergy, the sacraments, and the works which the sacraments enjoined. Priesthood, sacraments, works, are the names of the positions which the Roman Church defends with all its might in the Reformation Period, while faith is the name of the weapon with which Luther and his followers conduct the attack.

Luther was still far from seeing all these consequences, he was still exclusively revolving the question of faith in his mind, when there occurred the event which flung him into the centre of the world's interest, and inaugurated the movement of separation from the Church known as the Reformation. In 1517 a Dominican friar, Tetzel, appeared on the confines of Saxony to sell Indulgences, and Luther came forward to protest against the practice.

Corruption in connection with Indulgences.

We have seen that Indulgences[1] were letters of pardon issued by the Pope, and that they were closely associated with the sacrament of penance. The reader will also remember that they did not remit the sin and its eternal consequences, but only certain temporal penalties which were imposed by the priest and had to be gone through with in this world, or else had to be suffered in purgatory. The fee for which they were obtained went to the Pope, but the Pope let it be understood that he would devote the revenue to some Christian end, such as a crusade or the building of churches. However that may be, during the Renaissance, at least, a large part was diverted to other channels, and was

[1] See Chapter III., p. 52.

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generally surmised to contribute to the scandalous luxury of the Roman court.

The ninety-five theses, 1517.

The protest which Luther lodged against the new papal Indulgence hawked by Tetzel and other licensed venders through Germany took the form of ninety-five points or theses, which he proposed to argue, in the academic fashion of the time, with all comers in a public debate. He wrote them out in Latin, and nailed them to the door of the castle church of Wittenberg on October 31, 1517. They created an immediate sensation, were translated into German, and known in a few weeks throughout the land. Their immense popularity can only be accounted for on the ground that the abuse in connection with Indulgences was patent, that it offended the religious sentiment of the nation, and, above all, that the feeling was becoming more and more general that the Pope was abusing his prerogative, especially by squeezing undue sums out of the people for merely personal ends.[1]

Luther is carried into open revolt, 1520.

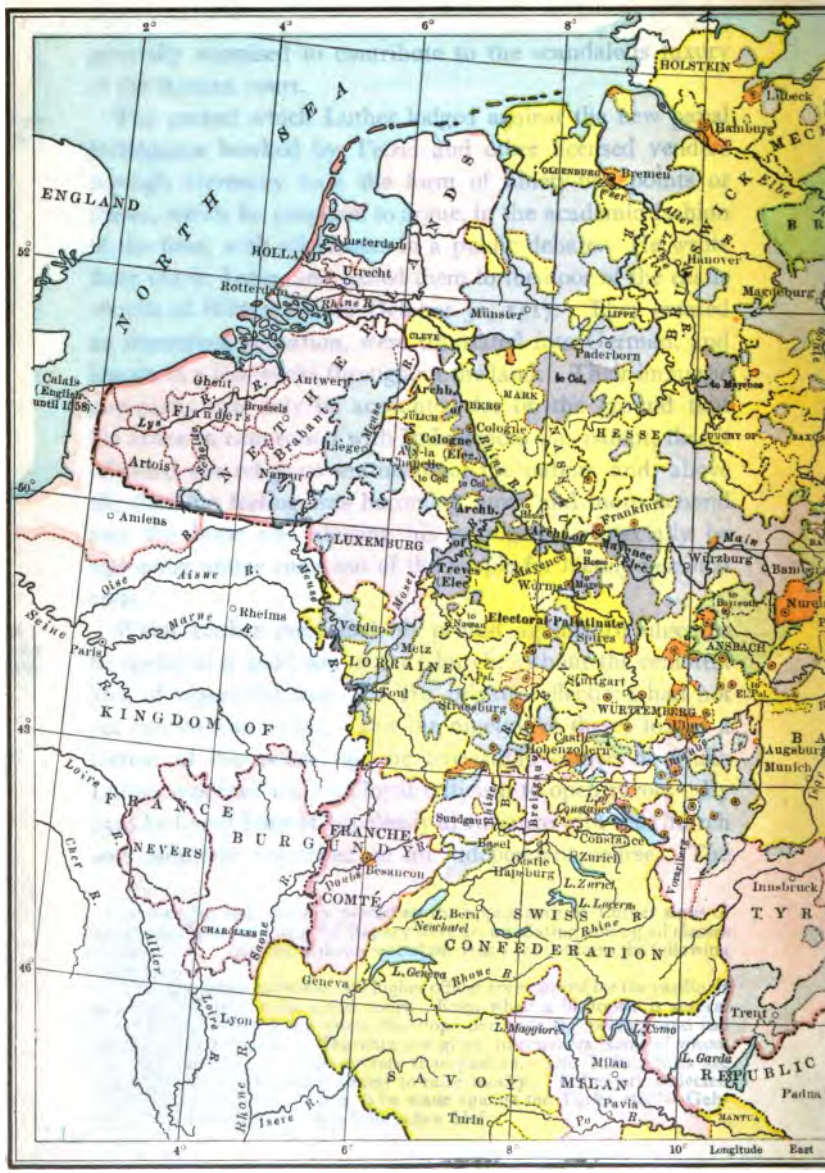
When Luther published his protest against Indulgences he spoke as a good son of the Church, without the remotest idea of separating from it. His private reflections had not yet carried him so far. But the ninety-five theses loosed a torrent of discussion, by the irresistible course of which Luther was hurried from loyal criticism to open revolt. By 1520 he found himself hopelessly at variance with the Church and definitely embarked on an independent course. The

[1] During the half century preceding the appearance of Luther signs of a growing discontent with the Papacy were accumulating among all classes of the nation. An official document of the year 1510 contains the following complaints:

"That the better benefices and higher offices are reserved for the cardinals and chief officials of the papal court. Even when a bishopric is several times vacant within a few years, the Pope demands the prompt and full payment of the annates. Churches are given to courtiers, some of whom are better fitted to be mule-drivers than pastors. Old Indulgences are revoked and new ones sold, merely to raise money. Tithes are collected under the pretext that a war is to be made against the Turks, etc."—Gebhardt, Gravamina gegen den Römischen Hof.

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GERMANY
on the Eve of
THE REFORMATION
0 20 40 60 80 100
SCALE OF MILES.
Boundary of Empire
Boundaries of larger States of Empire
Boundaries of smaller States of Empire
Imperial Cities
Hapsburg Territories
Hohenzollern Territories
Ecclesiastical Territories
NOTE TO THE STUDENT:
1) Locate the territories of the seven electors, (indicated by stronger colors). 2) Observe that the Burgundian territories, which fell to the Hapsburgs by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy to Maximilian, embrace largely fiefs of the German Crown. 3) Note extensive territories held by Bishops (purple). 4) Note that there are many States of the Empire—largely free cities—too small to claim a place on a map of this scale, 5) Note that the territories at the peripheries, Savoy, Milan, Swiss Confederation, Netherlands, etc. had already practically broken away from the Empire.
BALTIC SEA
PRUSSIA
POLAND
KINGDOM OF
SAXONY
SILESIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
ADRIATIC SEA
Berlin
Posen
Warsaw
Breslau
Prague
Brünn
Vienna
Salzburg
Graz
Triest
Venice
Leipzig
Ratisbon
Vistula R.
Oder R.
Danube R.
from Greenwich
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO.

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three years from 1517 to 1520 mark the crisis of his movement of protest, when there was still a prospect that discussion would lead to concession and turn the scales in favor of Christian unity. Alas, it was not to be, and all for reasons natural enough! Luther was a man of energy, amounting at times to violence; a lion when aroused. When the uncomprising partisans of the Church attacked him personally, he feverishly searched the Scriptures and their earliest expounders for new evidence, and soon came across much matter in the Church besides Indulgences which he regarded as open to question. The attitude of the Pope, Leo X., was typical of the cultured Italian gentleman of the Renaissance; he mildly wondered why the faithful of Germany were growing so excited over a purely theological issue. None the less he made some efforts to have the conflict hushed up by negotiations. But his agents were haughty and unskillful, and when in 1520 Luther attacked the prerogatives of the clergy, the sacraments, and the Pope himself, in a series of three fiery pamphlets,[1] open war was declared. The Pope now resolved to crush his adversary without mercy and issued a bull of excommunication which declared him a heretic. The document was equivalent to an order to the civil authorities to apprehend him and put him to death. But Luther was now past the point of fear. Amid a great concourse of applauding Wittenbergers he consigned the bull to a bonfire, and to leave no doubt as to his meaning he threw in the books of the canon law, which codified all the extraordinary privileges of the mediæval Church. The breach was complete. It remained only to be seen for which side the people would declare.

Luther excommunicated, 1520.

Germany had just passed through the throes of an im-

Election of Charles V. as emperor, 1519.

[1] They were: Concerning Christian Liberty; Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation; On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church. These three pamphlets contain the gist of early Protestantism. See Wace and Buchheim, Luther's Primary Works.

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perial election. In January, 1519, the Emperor Maximilian had been gathered to his fathers, and after a particularly spirited contest, in which the leading sovereigns of Europe came forward as candidates, the choice of the seven electors fell upon the king of Spain, who assumed the office under the name of Emperor Charles V. Charles owed his election not to the fact that he was king of Spain, but to his being the head of the House of Hapsburg and the most powerful prince of Germany. In the year 1520 he left Spain to be crowned with the usual elaborate ceremony at Aachen. Then he called a Diet at the city of Worms on the Rhine, where he first met with the parliament of the German nation. There were many matters demanding attention, but all were overshadowed in importance by the conflict raised by Luther. The Wittenberg professor had just been condemned by the Pope. It behooved the emperor and his Diet to declare what course they would take with reference to the papal sentence.

Charles summons Luther to his presence.

Charles was at this time a lad of twenty-one years. He had passed his life, so far, in the Netherlands and in Spain, where he had been brought up as a good Catholic, who might now and then criticise the abuses in the Church, but who in the main gave it an unhesitating allegiance. Therefore he, personally, was prepared to put down Luther. But there were other interests necessary to consider. So large a section of the German people and of the princes themselves had become adherents of Luther, that to condemn him unheard might raise an insurrection. Accordingly, Charles agreed to have him summoned to Worms for a hearing, under a special pledge of safety. Luther's friends besought him not to walk into the lion's mouth, reminding him of the fate of Huss at Constance. "I would go, even if there were as many devils there as tiles on the house roofs," he answered fearlessly. On April 17, 1521, he appeared before the Diet.

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Luther at the Diet of Worms, 1521.

The scene is one of the impressive spectacles of history. The simple friar, whose life had been largely lived in seclusion, stood for the first time before his emperor, who sat upon a throne encircled by a brilliant gathering of ambassadors, princes, and bishops. As he let his eye travel over the faces of the throng, he encountered all gradations of expression, ranging from deep devotion to indifference and fierce hatred. He was urged to recant the heresies he had uttered. If he had yielded he might have won forgiveness, and the movement of revolt would in all likelihood have come to an end. But he insisted that he should be proved to be wrong by the words of Holy Writ. That was stating the crucial issue; to him the authority of the Bible on the points of belief which he had raised was higher than the authority of Pope and Church. "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise. God help me, Amen!" was the substance of his concluding speech. To cow this man was out of the question, especially as Worms was seething with his followers. Permitted to depart as had been promised him, he was seized on the highway by servants of the friendly elector Frederick of Saxony, and carried secretly to the castle of the Wartburg in the Thuringian forest. There let him lie concealed, was the thought of his protector, until the crisis be over, and he may once more show himself without danger.

Luther is formally condemned.

Meanwhile Charles came to a decision. He could have no sympathy with a movement which threatened the unity of the Church. Further, his attention at that moment was fixed not on Germany but on Italy, where the position of his house was at stake. We must always remember that Charles was a sovereign with interests in the most widely separated regions, in Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and America. In Italy the king of France had lately seized Milan, and Charles was resolved to oust him from that vantage point, from which he dominated the whole

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north of the peninsula. But in such an enterprise the papal alliance would prove very useful. With an eye to the help of the Pope against France, Charles resolved to strike at Luther. On May 26, 1521, he published the Edict of Worms, by which the heretic's life was declared forfeit and his writings were prohibited. Having thus settled, as he mistakenly thought, the German difficulties with the stroke of a pen, Charles undertook the conquest of Italy.

The Edict of Worms, 1521.

But the movement of the Reformation had already acquired too great a momentum to be stopped by an imperial order. If Charles could have remained in Germany to see personally to the execution of his decree against Luther, or if the real power in Germany had not lain with the princes, who, from the nature of the case, were divided in their sympathy, the history of the Reformation might have been different. As matters stood, Charles was absent from the scene for the next nine years, and the princes, left to themselves, could come to no decisive agreement. Consequently the decree against Luther was not executed, and the revolution, encouraged by the vacillation of the government, grew so strong that it soon reached the point where it could defy persecution.

The Edict of Worms is not carried out.

Let us look more closely into what was happening at this time in the religious circles of Germany. Luther's opinions were advancing by leaps and bounds, and enthusiastic communities were beginning to put them into practice. They involved the abandonment of many of the most familiar features of mediæval Christianity. Monks and nuns renounced their vows, resumed their places in society, and in many cases married; Luther himself set an example by wedding Catharine von Bora, a former nun. The monastic property reverted to the state, that is, enriched the princes and the cities. The Pope and the Roman hierarchy were set aside and their authority denied. Many ancient practices,

Abandonment of many features of Catholicism.

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such as Indulgences, pilgrimages, worship of Mary and the saints, were condemned as meaningless and misleading works and abandoned. At the same time the Church service was materially changed. German was substituted for Latin, and the Mass, with its element of sacrifice, was declared idolatrous, its place being taken by a much simpler service, consisting of song, prayer, and sermon.

Excesses of the revolutionists.

With such ferment of opinion possessing the whole country, it is not unnatural that wild agitators occasionally caught the ear of the masses. In fact the Reformation was not many months old before its welfare was threatened more by its own extreme elements than by its Catholic opponents. Nobody saw this more clearly than Luther. He was resolved that the movement should travel a sure road and at a moderate pace, and that whoever should venture to compromise it by extravagances and illusions, or whoever should attempt to use it for ends other than those of the religious reform with which it had originated, must be abruptly excluded from his party. These certainly not unwise considerations explain Luther's attitude toward the revolutions of the next eventful years.

Luther follows a conservative course.

Luther was still living concealed in the Wartburg, where he was turning his enforced leisure to the task of translating the Bible into German, when startling things occurred in the Saxon capital of Wittenberg. Radicals, who called themselves prophets or Anabaptists, and who were joined by Carlstadt, one of Luther's own colleagues in the university, had begun to preach the destruction of the images which adorned the Catholic churches, and similar acts of violence. Luther, hearing of this nefarious propaganda, abruptly left the Wartburg and appeared among his flock (1522). His powerful word immediately brought his people back to order, and the "prophets" fled.

But the revolutionary tendencies aroused by Luther's call

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Revolution of the Rhenish knights.

to spiritual freedom were already spreading like wildfire. The petty knights of the Rhine region, who were dissatisfied with their political condition because they were in danger of being swallowed up by their more powerful neighbors, the larger princes, resolved to make use of the disturbed state of affairs by rising in revolution. They were put down after a short war (1522–23), and henceforth lost all significance as an order. But a far greater disturbance followed in the rising of the peasants. Since the Church was being successfully reformed, why should not society and the state, which were no less cankered than the Church, be reformed too?

The serfdom of the peasants.

That the peasants should have asked themselves this question was only natural in view of their extremely miserable lot. They were for the most part serfs, which means that they were attached to the soil and were better than slaves only in that they could not be bought and sold, and were protected by a few traditional rights. But under the influence of the Roman law, which was steadily gaining ground with the revival of classical antiquity, their few remaining rights were vanishing, and their condition was growing steadily worse. Since they were a sturdy folk at heart, among whom the memories of former liberties persisted, a sense of injustice tormented them, and had already in the fifteenth century led to occasional risings. Now, in the sixteenth century, came the call of Luther to religious freedom, sounding like a trumpet through the land. Even without Luther they were ready to strike down the land-owning nobles and abbots who oppressed them. With Luther as a prospective ally they were no longer to be kept in leash.

The great revolt, 1524–25.

In the year 1524 they rose, first near the border of Switzerland; but with surprising rapidity the movement ate its fiery course northward into the heart of Germany. All lawless elements, including the so-called prophets of Wittenberg, crowded to the standards of the peasants. Their bands

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patrolled the country-sides, invaded the hated castles and monasteries, burned them, and butchered their inmates. It is true there was a moderate section which put forward a sensible programme, called the twelve articles formulating the practicable demands of the insurgents. These were to have certain vexatious personal services due to the lord and his family, abolished, and the meadows, woods, and streams, which had once belonged to the villagers in common, but had since been seized by the lords, restored to their former owners. Nevertheless, passion got the better of reason, and every night the fierce glare of the sky renewed the tale of ruined castles and abbeys. As usual, the central government was incapable of taking action, but the local authorities, that is, the princes, got together an army and in the spring of 1525 scattered the disorganized bands of the peasants to the winds. Hounded on by Luther in coarse pamphlets, the victors crowned their successes by a hideous massacre of the poor fugitives. That Luther, who was a peasant himself, and had frequently declared his sympathy with his lowly brethren, should have veered to the other side has subjected him to much criticism. It is not possible to palliate the brutality of his language, but a word may be said for the consistency of his conduct. He had declared over and over again, by word and by deed, that he stood for religious reform and would not permit his cause to be compromised by political agitation. Let the cause of reform be confused in people's minds with social anarchy, and the conservative elements would be frightened away, and Rome be triumphant. For this reason he had challenged the Wittenberg prophets; for the same reason, though much more reluctantly, he turned his back upon the peasants.

Luther sides with the princes.

While Germany was seething with revolution, Charles V. was wholly engaged with the war against France. In fact, the wars with France continued throughout his reign and

The wars of France and Spain.

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prevented him from ever giving his full attention to the German Reformation. There were altogether four wars, covering the following periods: 1st war, 1521–26; 2d war, 1527–29; 3d war, 1536–38; 4th war, 1542–44.

The first war; battle of Pavia.

The first war ended with the signal triumph of Charles. Charles's general defeated the French army at Pavia in Italy (1525) and took the king of France himself, Francis I., captive. "All is lost save honor," was the laconic message which the French sovereign, celebrated as the mirror of chivalry, sent his mother at Paris. Charles had his royal prisoner transported to Madrid and there he wrung from him a peace (1526), by which Francis ceded all claims to Italy and parts of France itself (Burgundy and the suzerainty of Artois) to Charles.

The second war and sack of Rome, 1527.

But hardly had Francis regained his liberty when he hastened to renew the war. Charles had overstrained the bow. Francis could buy peace by the cession to his enemy of Milan, a foreign conquest, but as long as there was life in France her king could not grant nor could she accept a partition of her territory. The Pope and Henry VIII. of England, who had hitherto favored Charles in the struggle between France and Spain, now went over to Francis from fear that the emperor was striving for supremacy in Europe. The most noteworthy incident of the second war was the sack of Rome (1527). The great French nobleman, the duke of Bourbon, who had turned traitor and had been put by Charles at the head of a mixed troop of Spaniards and of German Protestants, was ordered to march against the Pope for the purpose of punishing him for his alliance with Francis. At the moment at which the walls of the papal capital were scaled Bourbon fell, and the rabble soldiery, left without a master, put Rome to a frightful pillage.

Charles crowned emperor.

Although the advantage in the second as in the first war remained with Charles, he offered Francis somewhat more

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acceptable terms (temporary retention by Francis of Burgundy) in new negotiations, which ended in the so-called Ladies' Peace of Cambray (1529). After the peace Charles had himself crowned emperor at Bologna (1530), and figures in history as the last emperor who was willing to take so much trouble for an empty title.

Charles returns to Germany. The Diet of Augsburg, 1530.

Charles, temporarily rid of France, was now resolved to look once more into German affairs. In 1530, after an absence of almost ten years, he again turned his face northward. The Reformation was by this time an accomplished fact, but Charles, who during his absence had received his information from Catholic partisans and through hearsay, still inclined, as at Worms, to treat it as a trifle. He was destined to be rudely awakened. A Diet had been called to meet him at the city of Augsburg, and at the summons a brilliant assembly of both Lutheran and Catholic princes came together. Their sessions turned chiefly around the question whether or no the Edict of Worms of 1521 should be at last executed. Unquestionably the Edict was part of the law of the land, and unquestionably its execution meant the death of Luther and the end of the young church which had grown up around him. Naturally the Lutherans made a supreme effort to vindicate themselves. They requested Melanchthon, a gentle soul and profound scholar, and at the same time the bosom friend of Luther, to draw up for the emperor's perusal a statement of the Lutheran position. The document, on being published, became known under the name of the Confession of Augsburg, and constitutes substantially the creed of the Lutheran Church to this day. But the emperor was not to be persuaded. If he had thus far treated the Reformation in a hesitating manner, that was partly because he had made the mistake of underestimating it, and partly because he had not been averse to frightening the Pope a little, who, even when he was not his open enemy,

The Confession of Augsburg.

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was never his sincere friend. But he had just made his peace with the Pope, and even before coming to Germany had indicated from what quarter the wind now blew by ordering the Diet of Spires, in 1529, to take back certain former concessions to the innovators, and once more to insist on the full execution of the Edict of Worms. Against this step the Lutheran members of the Diet had lodged a formal protest, which had won them the epithet, destined to become world-famous, of Protestants. Thus Charles was committed to a policy before ever he came to Augsburg. The hearing granted to the Protestants partook largely of the nature of a prearranged comedy, upon which, when it had lasted long enough, he rang down the curtain, and announced his decision. In the matter of the religious innovations, the concluding protocol declared that everybody must abandon them within six months, or suffer the consequences. The bold challenge drove the Protestants to concert measures for defence. They met at the little town of Smalkald and organized a league for mutual protection (1531).

Civil war adjourned by the Turkish danger.

Both sides now stood opposed to each other, ready for action; but just as civil war seemed to have become inevitable, the news reached Germany that the Turks were about to attack Vienna. The Turks had already carried the terror of their name into eastern Germany two years before. In face of a danger threatening all alike, the civil struggle had, of course, to be postponed. In an agreement which Charles signed with the Protestants at Nuremberg (1532), he undertook to adjourn his measures against his opponents until a General Council of the Church had met to decide the doctrinal points in dispute, and he was thus enabled to march against the Turks at the head of a brilliant army representing united Germany. Before this display of force the Turks fell back. On his return Charles found other things to do than fight the German Protestants. The Mohammedan

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pirates of the north coast of Africa, who were engaged in destroying the European commerce, urgently demanded his attention. For the next few years he gave his time to the destruction of their strongholds in Tunis and Tripoli, and thus the suppression of Protestantism in Germany was again postponed. To Charles all this must have been hard to bear. The French, the Turks, and the African pirates were among them keeping his hands full, and were always intercepting his arm at the very moment at which he was about to draw his sword against the Protestant revolution.

New wars. Alliance between Francis I. and the Turks.

On his return from Africa there broke out a third war with Francis I. of France (1536–38), only to be succeeded by the fourth and last (1542–44), which was concluded by the Peace of Crespy. In this peace Charles definitely gave up his claim to Burgundy, and in return was confirmed in his mastery of the much-prized Italian peninsula. But the most striking feature of these last two wars, a feature which among contemporary Europeans caused an unspeakable surprise, was the alliance which Francis concluded against Charles with Soliman the Magnificent, the Turkish Sultan. It furnished fresh evidence of the broadening of life effected by the Renaissance. As the traders and discoverers had burst the narrow barriers of the Mediterranean, so European diplomacy henceforth would not hesitate to draw Asiatics and infidels into its game.

Charles fails to end the heresy by a General Council.

The Peace of Crespy set Charles free to try once more to eradicate the German heresy. He had staked his life upon destroying it, but had been thwarted in every attempt. As early as 1521, in the Edict of Worms, he had announced his settled policy. But circumstances like the French wars, as well as a certain statesmanlike reluctance to proceed to force, had intervened to restrain him from carrying it out. Then, later, with the Peace of Nuremberg (1532), he had committed himself to the policy of reconciliation through a

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General Council of the Church. A General Council could be summoned only with the consent of the Pope, who had thus far sullenly refused to issue a call. At last, in 1545, Paul III. yielded to Charles's solicitations and summoned the famous Council of Trent. But the favorable moment had passed. The Protestants, who had gone too far on the path of separation to retreat, would no longer submit to it, and Charles had to acknowledge that he was at the end of his tether. Turn as he would, there was only one way left to crush the Protestants, and that was by war. So Charles, whose aversion to heresy and schism was unaltered, drew his sword, and precipitated the first German civil war over the issue of religion.

Death of Luther, 1546.

Just before the outbreak of hostilities, on February 18, 1546, Luther, whose word had raised the tempest, died. He was spared the final pain of seeing his countrymen in [illegible]ms against each other, largely on his account. Certainly his [illegible]aracter had many grievous flaws, but in looking backward o[illegible]r his life they disappear in the strong light shed by his honesty, simplicity, and unflinching courage. If he has [illegible]come dear to the German people and to the Protestant [illegible]d in general, it is not only because he originated a religious movement which has become an incalculable factor in the history of modern times, but also because his large, hale figure, seated at the family board and surrounded by a circle of fresh young faces, breathes a broad sympathy and humanity.

The first war of religion in Germany.

The first war of religion in Germany, called also, from the name of the league of Protestant princes, the war of Smalkald, broke out in the year of Luther's death (1546). The Protestant forces, commanded by the foremost Protestant princes, John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, acted without a plan. Charles, advancing with concentrated energy, ended the war with one stroke at the battle of Mühl-

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berg (1547), where the leading Protestant prince, the elector of Saxony, was taken prisoner. The triumph of the emperor was in no small measure due to the treachery of a Protestant relative of the elector, Maurice of Saxony. Maurice was a capable, unscrupulous man, who for the price of the electorate of his relative lent Charles his aid. The price once paid, he remembered that he, too, was a Protestant, and gradually cutting loose from the emperor prepared to undo the consequences of the victory of Mühlberg.

The Interim.

Charles, after the victory of Mühlberg, which had ended with the complete submission of the Protestants, undertook to reëstablish the unity of the Church. There should be but one faith; so much he was firmly resolved on. But he clearly saw also that it would be the part of wisdom to proceed not too precipitately. He therefore did not force the Protestants back into the Church without delay, but declared himself content if they would accept a temporary measure called the Interim, which, although Catholic in spirit, granted them certain concessions until the Council of Trent had definitely pronounced upon the points in dispute. The Protestant world felt with consternation that in this half-way measure lay the beginning of the end. An increasing discontent grew soon to a revolutionary enthusiasm, and when Maurice of Saxony came back to his coreligionists, Germany suddenly rose, and Charles found himself confronted by a united demonstration (1552). There can be no doubt that he was taken by surprise. Maurice, his chief opponent now, as a few years before he had been his chief ally, might even have taken him captive. "I have no cage for so fine a bird," he is reported to have said. So the emperor escaped. But his life-long war against the Lutheran heresy had come to an end. Broken by defeat, but too proud to acknowledge it, he empowered his brother Ferdinand to sign the truce of Passau (1552) with the Protestants. At the Diet of Augs-

General rising of the Protestants.

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burg, in the year 1555, the arrangements of Passau were replaced by a definitive treaty, known as the Religious Peace of Augsburg.

The Peace of Augsburg, 1555.

The main significance of the Peace of Augsburg lies in the fact that the mediæval idea of the unity of the Christian Church was therein officially abandoned, and Lutheranism granted legal recognition as a separate faith. But the interest of the document does not cease here. Since the central government had failed to carry through its religious policy, it was stipulated that religion should henceforth be treated as a local matter, that is, the local governments, being the princes and the cities, should be permitted to choose between Catholicism and Lutheranism. This principle was expressed in the Latin phrase, *cujus regio ejus religio*, meaning that religion is an affair of the lord of the territory. Under this system the prince who chose Protestantism could eject all Catholics from his state, and *vice versa*. This is not what we would call religious toleration, since it gave the right of choice to princes and not to individuals; but individual toleration seemed as yet a dangerous idea, to which the world, as in the case of every valuable acquisition made by the race, would have to grow accustomed by slow degrees.

The Ecclesiastical Reservation.

Such are the chief provisions of the Peace of Augsburg. But there was another article which, as it became the fruitful mother of confusion, deserves close attention. It was inserted in favor of the old Church, and is called the Ecclesiastical Reservation. There were in Germany many bishops who were not only heads of dioceses, but who also ruled considerable territories as temporal lords. Since they exercised both lay and spiritual functions, they are properly designated as prince-bishops. It was laid down in the Ecclesiastical Reservation that to these prince-bishops the free choice between Catholicism and Protestantism accorded to lay princes should not extend. They were indeed to be per-

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mitted to elect Protestantism for themselves, but they were obliged in that case to resign their sees, and Catholic successors would have to be chosen in their places. In essence this article was a guarantee that the lands of the bishops should remain forever and ever in the hands of the old Church, and, though the Lutherans protested, the article was incorporated in the Peace of Augsburg and became the law of the land. As might have been foreseen, difficulties almost immediately arose. It was found that in practice the article could not be kept, for many bishoprics, following the trend of the day, soon fell into Protestant hands, and out of the ensuing recriminations developed in time another and a much more serious civil war.

Henry II. of France conquers the three bishoprics.

The victory of the Protestants over the emperor was not purchased without a heavy loss for Germany. Maurice of Saxony had found it necessary, in order to make sure of victory, to ally himself with Henry II. of France, and in the same year (1552) in which Maurice drove the emperor over the Alps Henry II. invaded Germany and occupied the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Although Charles laid siege to Metz immediately upon the reëstablishment of peace with the Protestants, the French were able to beat him off and retain possession of their conquests. This incident opens the long and troublesome story of the border conflicts between France and Germany which accompany the history of these two nations throughout the Modern Age.

Abdication of the emperor. Division of the Hapsburg dominions.

The emperor, whose life was worn out with his long conflicts and labors, could not recover from the blow of these last disasters. He abdicated his crown (1556) and retired to the monastery of San Yuste in Spain, where he died two years later. Hardly in the history of the world has so proud a life set so humbly. Upon his abdication the vast Hapsburg possessions, which he had held in his

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sole hand, were divided. His son Philip got Spain (with her colonies), the Italian territory (Naples and Milan), and the Netherlands. His brother Ferdinand got the Austrian lands and therewith the imperial crown. Henceforth until the extinction of the Spanish line (1700) we have in Europe a Spanish and an Austrian branch of the great House of Hapsburg.

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CHAPTER V

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

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The spread of Protestantism.

THE Protestant movement spread rapidly from Germany over the Teutonic north, and even invaded southern Europe, making inroads upon France, Italy, and Spain. It met with opposition everywhere; sometimes it was suppressed, sometimes it forced the governments to come to terms with it; but wherever it raised its head its original form was modified more or less by the character of the people among whom it appeared, and by the local circumstances.

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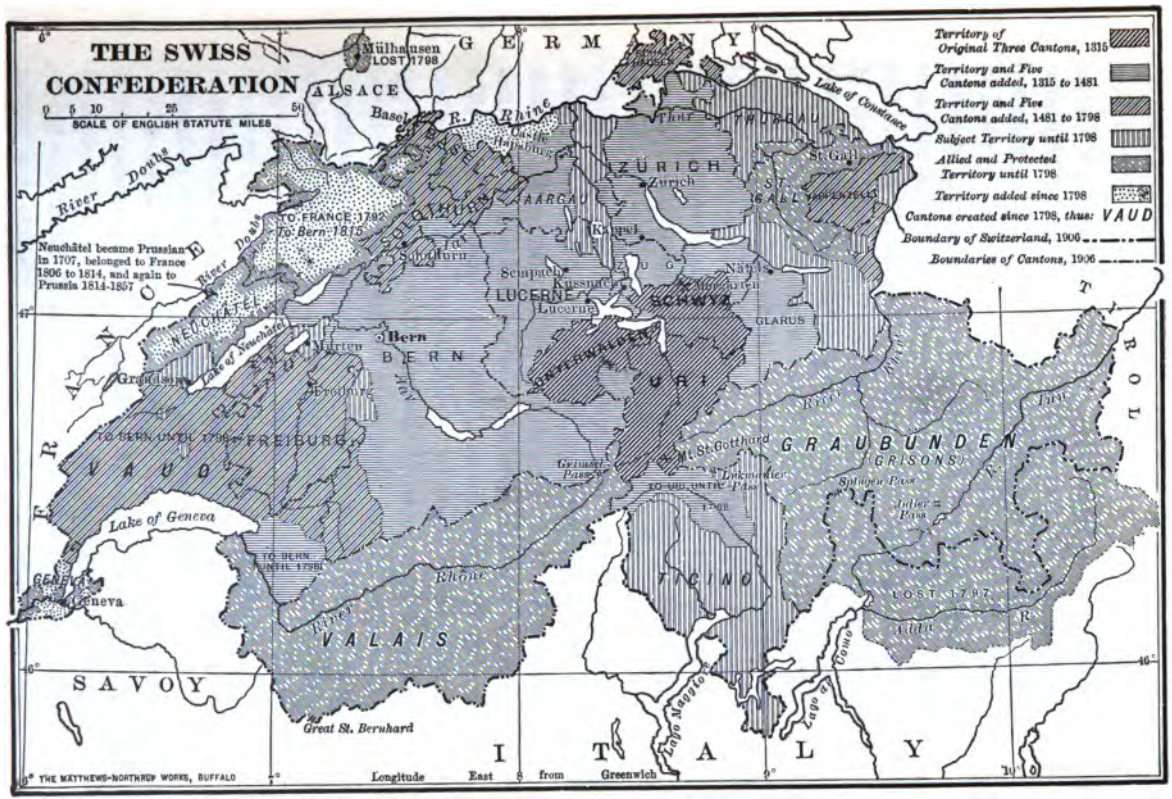
Denmark, Norway, and Sweden accept Lutheranism.

The success of the Reformation was most complete and rapid in the Scandinavian north. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, the three Scandinavian powers, had been united under one king since the Union of Calmar (1397). At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Union fell apart, owing to the fact that Sweden put an end to a discontent of long standing by reclaiming her independence. Under the powerful leadership of a member of the nobility, Gustavus Vasa, who in 1523 was empowered by the people to assume the title of king, she achieved her desire. Gustavus Vasa became the founder of a long and important line of sovereigns. Denmark and Norway, however, remained united, under a Danish king, down to the time of Napoleon. The political confusion that was occasioned in Scandinavia by the struggle of Sweden for independence favored the religious innovations. Within twenty years after Luther's proclamation against Indulgences (1517), Catholicism had been formally done away with, and Lutheranism been accepted as the sole faith of all the Scandinavian countries. The north produced no great reformer of its own, and therefore accepted the creed of its nearest neighbor, Germany.

Origin of Swiss independence.

Turning next to Switzerland, we take note that this country had, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, very nearly acquired its present extent. It was in the Middle Ages a part of the Holy Roman Empire, that is, of Germany. But certain valleys of the Alpine uplands began at an early date to go their own way, to be joined presently by neighboring valleys. The interesting story of these beginnings takes us to the picturesque lake of Lucerne, lying beneath the shadow of the three small Alpine cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden. In 1291 these three districts formed an alliance for the purpose of assisting each other against the aggressions of the neighboring counts of Hapsburg. Again and again the counts led their brilliant host of knights

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against the hardy mountaineers, who fought on foot, armed with such imperfect weapons as came to hand. The feudal onslaught was in vain. The scales of fate steadily inclined in favor of the lowly sons of the soil, and their victory was presently crystallized by the ever-active poetic instinct of man into patriotic legends around the names of William Tell and Arnold Winkelried. As late as the time of Emperor Maximilian the counts of Hapsburg, who had waxed great and acquired the imperial dignity, retained the hope of bringing the obstinate peasants once more under their authority. In the year 1499 Maximilian levied war upon them, but when he, too, like his forefathers, was defeated, the attempt at subjugation was given up, and the Swiss cantons became virtually independent, not only of the House of Hapsburg, but also of the Empire.

Switzerland a loose Confederation.

Meanwhile the original three cantons had been strengthened by gradual accession from their neighbors. By the time the Hapsburgs made their last effort, in 1499, seven more cantons had been added to the original league, together with a number of outlying districts, bound to the Confederation by more or less strict articles of adhesion. Nevertheless, the union left much to be desired. Every canton remained practically an independent little republic, and the central government, which consisted of a Diet composed of delegates from the cantons, had hardly any other power than the right to concert common measures of defence. From the time of its origin to well into the nineteenth century Switzerland furnished an excellent example of a loose confederation of sovereign or almost sovereign states.

Zwingli, the Swiss reformer.

This weak union was exposed to a severe test when the Reformation carried its conflicts and confusion into the Confederation. The champion of the movement in Switzerland was Ulrich Zwingli. Throughout his life he maintained with conviction and much show of reason that his

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ideas were his own, and had not been borrowed from Luther; still it may be doubted if he would ever have made much stir if it had not been for the larger movement set afoot by the Saxon reformer.

Zwingli, humanist and democrat.

Zwingli was only a few weeks younger than Luther, having been born in the village of Wildhaus, near St. Gall, in January, 1484. He came of an influential family, received a careful schooling, and in due time attended the university, where he was strongly impregnated with the current humanistic thought. In 1506 he was ordained a priest, and was called to his first charge at Glarus. As the outer circumstances of his life were much happier than Luther's, so he seems to have grown up without any of those inner crises that make Luther's youth such a troubled season of storm and stress. In his capacity of free-born Swiss he became acquainted early with the workings of a democratic city republic and imbued with that virile patriotism which is the product of political responsibility. These are the influences which determined Zwingli's life and shaped his labors. They explain why he approached the criticism of the Church by the path of the Erasmian humanism, and also make clear why, when he had been pushed beyond the position of Erasmus to a complete separation from Rome, he advocated an ecclesiastical reorganization which henceforth should subject religion to the democratic control of the civil authorities. Luther, too, had placed his Church under the guidance of the civil powers, but since the civil powers in Germany were, speaking generally, the princes, the Lutheran Church acquired a distinctly autocratic character. Zwingli, the Swiss republican, not only felt impelled to carry the idea of democracy into the Church, but also retained a firm belief in the political wisdom of the masses, long after the experience of the peasants' war had cured Luther of his popular leanings. In consequence, the Swiss

Differences in the ideals of Luther and Zwingli.

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reformer had none of Luther's aversion to interweaving religion and politics; on the contrary, he frankly courted political authority all his life, on the ground that only by this means could his religious programme be definitely established in society.

Zwingli's success.

Zwingli's real career did not begin until 1518; in that year he was called to a pastoral charge in Zurich, the most vigorous community in Switzerland. Starting like Luther with a protest against Indulgences, he was carried from point to point, until there was no room for him within the ancient Church. The measures which he advocated in powerful addresses from the pulpit were enthusiastically received by his hearers, until by the end of 1525 his Reformed Church was, in effect, established at Zurich. That it differed by reason of its democratic organization from the Lutheran Church has already been remarked; but it also differed in some essential points of doctrine. Of the seven sacraments of the mediæval Church Luther had retained two: baptism and the Lord's supper. Concerning the Lord's supper he believed in the actual presence of Jesus in the bread and wine, in accordance with the literal meaning of the Gospel words: this is my Blood, this is my Body. In the eyes of Luther the change of substance was a miracle beyond the power of explanation, a belief esteemed rank superstition by Zwingli, who saw in the rite merely an act whereby the communicant recalled to his mind the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross. Luther's interpretation originated in his mystic attitude toward Christianity, whereas Zwingli's view represented the scientific current of thought which tries to bring faith into accord with reason. Such differences made a union of the Lutheran and Zwinglian movements impossible. Nevertheless, some Protestants, like the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, convinced that disunion in the reformed camp would invite attack, urged the rival leaders

Quarrel with Luther.

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to bury their strife. Zwingli was not averse, but the conference, which at the invitation of the Landgrave Philip took place between him and Luther at Marburg in 1529, ended in failure, because Luther would not sacrifice an iota of his doctrine of the Lord's supper. Thus the Protestant movement of Switzerland continued upon its independent course.

Opposition by the Forest cantons.

But trouble was already beginning to threaten its success. With the usual passion of the reformer, Zwingli wished to carry his propaganda over all Switzerland. He met with some success, notably when the city of Bern came over to his side (1528), but the so-called Forest cantons, representing the original nucleus of the Confederation, refused to abandon their ancient faith. The Forest cantons enfolded the region of the upper Alps, and were inhabited chiefly by peasants and herdsmen. This simple and honest folk, besides being imbued with the conservatism natural to a remote farming society, nourished a fear that the realization of Zwingli's ideas would diminish their influence in the Confederation. They had become aware that in the background of Zwingli's religious propaganda lurked a plan to subject the cantons to the federal Diet by increasing the latter's powers. In this body the Forest cantons wielded, by reason of the rule which accorded to every canton equal representation, an influence out of proportion to their size and population. Zwingli's plan would have subjected them to a majority drawn from the progressive and populous districts. A prolonged dispute ended with an appeal to arms. The decision fell at the battle of Kappel, in October, 1531, where the Forest cantons were successful, and Zwingli himself, who had marched out with the Zurich host, was slain. In the Peace of Kappel, which followed the battle, an arrangement was concluded which foreshadowed the solution of the religious difficulties of Germany, found at Augsburg in 1555. Religion was declared to be the affair not of the Swiss Diet, but of each

The Peace of Kappel, 1531.

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canton, which should determine for itself whether Protestantism or Catholicism should reign within its jurisdiction. No other solution was perhaps possible in a loose union like Switzerland, where the several partners held that they had never surrendered their sovereignty. In consequence, the religious map of Switzerland acquired that checkered appearance which marks it to this day.

The cantons composing Switzerland at this time were in the main of German speech. At the western portal of the Confederation lay a city of French speech, which, becoming Protestant about the same time, declared its independence, and entered into relations of amity with the Swiss. This city was Geneva, and the man who assured the triumph of its revolution was the leading figure of the second generation of reform, John Calvin. Zwingli played, after all, only a local Swiss rôle, but Calvin exercised an influence as wide or even wider than that of Luther.

Geneva.

Geneva at the beginning of the sixteenth century occupied a curious political position, which may be defined as a halfway station between mediæval and modern conditions. The city, like many other mediæval towns, had acquired a limited self-government, but its old feudal lord, the bishop of Geneva, still exercised authority over it, though sharing some of his minor rights with the most powerful secular ruler of the neighborhood, the duke of Savoy. This calculating noble had long been planning to add the city commanding the sources of the Rhone River to his possessions, and had inaugurated his undertaking by getting the bishopric well under his control. If the Genevans had not been imbued with the spirit of liberty, they would surely have fallen victims to the formidable plot of duke and bishop. But subjects of Savoy they would not be, and defended themselves with such vigor that the conspirators were beaten off and had to abandon the city. By the year 1536

Geneva becomes independent of bishop and duke.

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Geneva was a free republic, recognizing no superior under heaven.

Geneva becomes Protestant.

Meanwhile the civil revolt had become complicated with the religious agitations of the day. The patriotic struggle against the bishop had drawn the ire of the Genevans upon the Church with which he was identified. As much to spite their hated master as from any deep moral enthusiasm, they had turned toward Protestantism. Thus the religious revolution kept pace with the political one, and in the same year in which the city became free, its citizens formally pledged themselves to live according to the new faith. It was only when this much had been done that there began the connection with Geneva of that man who gave the revolution in that city its final form and made it famous.

John Calvin.

It was a stroke of chance which brought John Calvin to Geneva. He was a Frenchman by birth, having been born at Noyon, in the province of Picardy, on July 10, 1509. He attended the universities of Paris and Orleans, where after a brief plunge into theology he undertook seriously the study of law. The clearness and precision which are characteristics of the French mind were doubtless deepened by his legal training, while his intellect was both stimulated and humanized by early immersion in the regenerating stream of classical antiquity.

Calvin banished from France.

But though a man of the sixteenth century might study law and love the classics, he could not, especially if he had the passion for righteousness which distinguished Calvin, avoid being drawn into the religious whirlpool. Calvin became allied with the handful of men in France who supported the reforming opinions, was persecuted by the intolerant government of Francis I., and had to seek safety in flight. He settled at Basel, a city which Erasmus had made illustrious by a long residence, and which had lately adopted the Zwinglian faith; and here he published in 1536,

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being then twenty-seven years of age, his famous theological work, "The Institutes of the Christian Religion." The Institutes make the attempt to reconstruct the Christian Church in accordance with the words of the earliest followers of Jesus, and are, by implication as well as by direct statement, a criticism of the elaborate superstructure of the mediæval Church. Since no work so thorough had yet come from the Protestant camp, the reputation of the young author spread rapidly over Europe. Shortly after this treatise had appeared he stopped, on returning from a secret visit to France, for a night's rest at Geneva.

Calvin is prevailed on to stay in Geneva, 1536.

The Protestant faith had only just been introduced into Geneva, and its organization left much to be desired. Besides, the citizens, having adopted it largely on grounds of expediency, had not felt the uplifting force of a great moral experience. Now if Protestantism meant anything at all worth while, it was an invitation to a nobler life in the consciousness of God's active and incessant grace. Farel, the leading preacher of Geneva, was in despair over the spiritual deadness of his flock, when, hearing of the presence in the town of the famous young scholar, he called upon him to solicit his aid in the evangelization of the city. Calvin, enamored of the retired life of study, at first refused, but Farel plied him with such vigor that he resolved at last to set his pleasure after his duty, and exchange his quiet closet for the stern world of affairs.

Calvin rules in state and Church.

The work which Calvin now entered on lasted, with the exception of a short exile, until his death in 1564. By sheer force of will and ascendancy of genius he rapidly became the commanding figure within the territory of the city, and with the consent of its citizens ruled its destinies like a dictator. His plan was to realize in Geneva the Christian Church outlined in the Institutes, and to link it in such relations to the state as to make each contribute in the highest

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possible degree to the welfare of man. A separation of Church and state, as exists for instance in the United States of America, did not enter even for a moment into his calculations. Such is the power resident in inherited ideas, that however far the Protestants withdrew from the old Church, they one and all held fast to the essentially mediæval conception of the oneness of Church and state. The state as governing temporal man, the Church as ministering to his spirit, could not disjoin their labors, if there was ever to be realized the ideal of a coming reign of perfection. In consequence, Calvin created at Geneva what may be called a Church-state, and by so doing instituted one of the most remarkable experiments in history. Let us look at the two coördinated features of his system.

Geneva a Christian democracy.

And first as to his state. When Calvin arrived at Geneva, he found a democratic community, that is, a city governed by elected councils. As he found it, he was content, in the main, to leave it. According to him any form of government would do among men, provided only that it was filled with the spirit of God. Therefore he merely impressed upon the rulers of the city that they were in a very true sense ministers of the Lord, intrusted with a work different, but quite as important, as that of the preachers of His word. During Calvin's life at least the officials elected satisfied, on the whole, this requirement, and in consequence the world enjoyed the exceptional spectacle of an ecclesiastical and civil government, each advancing claims of equality and independence, and ruling, nevertheless, harmoniously side by side.

Calvin's Church is democratic.

In the matter of the Church, which he had mainly at heart, Calvin held that though there was one invisible Church of all true believers, practically, this might be split up into many separate Churches, according to the varying conditions of human society. Every such Church belonged to all its mem-

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bers, and should be governed by them in the democratic spirit. Luther had already denied that the control of the Church belonged exclusively to the clergy; but though he had in the beginning of his career advocated the priesthood of every Christian man, he had yielded to the exigencies of the political situation in Germany, and suffered the princes to assume control. Calvin had no insuperable objection to this system, but, like Zwingli, he lived in a democratic community, and feeling, like him, a preference for democracy, he put the Church directly into the hands of the people. A democratic or popular character marks every Church established under his influence. But the feature of Calvin's Genevan establishment which has excited the most comment is doubtless the consistory.

The consistory was a mixed body of clergy and laity appointed to watch over the morals of the community. Six ministers and twelve elders composed it. It was empowered to try any man, woman, or child for any departure from the accepted standards of purity, and hand the wrongdoer over to the civil authorities for punishment. The consistory has something of the appearance of a Protestant inquisition, but though it has brought the maledictions of modern apostles of liberty upon Calvin's head, it is necessary to do justice to his underlying conception. The Church and state, as has already been said, he held to exist solely for the good of man, for the achievement of Christian perfection. But that good he held—and teachers and preachers of conduct in all ages have generally held with him—could not be attained if departure from the path of righteousness was allowed to go unpunished. Under the sway of the consistory the city assumed a stern and austere character. Life at Geneva in Calvin's day may have been inwardly fervent, but many little gayeties which lend charm and color to the fleeting hours were rudely banished. Non-attendance at

The consistory.

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church rendered one liable to punishment; also dancing, card-playing, and the singing of profane songs. Let a man blaspheme, a child be disrespectful to its parents, and the arm of the consistory came down upon them like a mallet. A departure from the Calvinistic tenets constituted heresy, and was, of course, a particularly heinous offence. In 1547 Gruet was executed for the possession of infidel books, and in 1553 Servetus was burned for denying the doctrine of the Trinity. A system characterized like this by the element of discipline may run the risk of narrowing the human sympathies and drawing much of the sweetness out of life, but it makes men hard and firm as iron.

Calvin's theology.

This same tendency toward vigor and rigidity rather than gentleness and pity was inherent in the theology with which Calvin endowed his Church. It is perhaps his least original contribution since his doctrines can generally be traced back to one or another of his predecessors. Nevertheless, the Calvinistic theology looms large in theological annals, chiefly because of the prominence given in polemics to Calvin's doctrine of election by grace. This has stirred up so much dust that it deserves an explanation. The central feature of the great Frenchman's system was the absolute supremacy of God's will. Since God was all in all, it was preposterous to suppose that man could win salvation either by works, as the Roman Church taught, or by faith, as Luther argued. God alone could save, and His saving was a pure act of mercy. But since God is eternal and omniscient, He must know and has willed, even before birth, whether a soul shall

Predestination.

be saved or lost. This doctrine, known popularly as predestination, has always aroused much angry opposition, since it implies the denial of man's power to contribute an iota to his own salvation, and would seem to justify him in desisting from any effort at goodness. It was freely predicted that something akin to Oriental fatalism would settle like a

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cloud upon the followers of Calvin. But for whatever reason—perhaps merely to show how little philosophical logic counts in the conduct of life—the exact opposite has taken place. Never has a creed stirred its followers to a more strenuous activity than has Calvin's.

The Roman Church undertakes a reform.

We have seen that there had been raised in Europe, ever since the thirteenth century, loud cries for the reform of the Church, but that the Popes had remained deaf to the call. At length toward the middle of the sixteenth century, frightened by the movement begun by Luther, the Church of Rome yielded to the new spirit and instituted a series of reformatory measures.

Change in the character of the Papacy and clergy.

This Counter-Reformation in the Roman Church must, in order to be rightly understood, be recognized as a real religious revival which, without affecting the doctrines or the system of government, brought about a great improvement in the life of the clergy. We have noticed that the Popes of the Renaissance, concerned chiefly with their aggrandizement and pleasures, sealed their ears to the criticism of humanists and reformers. But that attitude of indifference could not be kept up forever if the Papacy was to live. Many loyal churchmen, while looking with horror upon any attack on the system of the Church, were yet willing to admit that there was much improvement possible in the realm of conduct. According to them there was one reform of which Rome had need, the reform of its clergy. It is not astonishing when we consider the Christian fervor of the Spanish nation, as manifested by the long crusades against the Moors, that Spain should have furnished the first impulse to a movement of reform undertaken in this spirit. As early as the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and that means before Luther struck his famous blow against Indulgences, these sovereigns, aided by the devout Cardinal Ximenes, infused new life into the Spanish Church. Their idea was that the priests

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should be a light to the people by reason of their purity, charity, and good learning. It was long before the Italian Church took notice of the Spanish movement. The Popes and cardinals of the period clung to the pleasant gardens of the Renaissance, and found it hard to abandon the life of worldliness and self-indulgence to which they had become accustomed. The middle of the century had been passed before the Papacy, in the person of Paul IV. (1555–59), definitely pledged itself to the new movement. With him begins a line of Popes who mark a reversion to the more austere ideals of the Middle Ages, maintain a rigorous moral code, and devote themselves with eager zeal to ecclesiastical interests. The good example set in the high places could not but affect the rank and file. The ignorance, drunkenness, and licentiousness which the humanists had imputed to the clergy, and especially to the monks, were largely replaced in the course of the next generation by earnestness, love of study, and purity of life.

Signs of revival.

The change of temper in the body of the clergy soon made itself felt in an increased religious activity. From parish priest to bishop a new fervor animated the old rulers. One sign of it was the enrichment, in imitation of the Protestants, of the public services by the more frequent use of sermons and hortatory addresses. Still more important was the spontaneous creation of great bands of Christian volunteers who associated themselves in orders, much like those which have attended every revival in the history of the Catholic Church. If the Theatines, founded in 1524, and the Capuchins, in 1525, cannot be compared with the Franciscans and Dominicans, products of the great revival of the thirteenth century, these in their turn pale before the most effective instrument which the spirit of religious propaganda has ever forged, the order of the Jesuits.

Loyola.

The order of the Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, was founded

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by Ignatius Loyola. Loyola was a Spanish nobleman whose desire, as was usual with his class, was to be a soldier, until during a long convalescence from a wound received in the field, he chanced to read some lives of Christian saints and heroes. His high-strung and exalted nature was so fired by this reading that henceforth he knew no higher ambition than, in imitation of the martyrs, to dedicate his life to the Church. His first efforts were wildly romantic and fruitless. He eventually saw that his education was not sufficient, and at thirty-three years of age began to study Latin, philosophy, and theology. While at school in Paris he made the acquaintance of some kindred spirits, and with them he founded his new society (1534) for the purpose, at first, of doing missionary work among the Mohammedans. Circumstances prevented the sailing of the enthusiasts for the Orient, whereupon they resolved to go to Rome to offer their services to the Pope and to secure his sanction for their order. In 1540, after considerable hesitation, Pope Paul III. confirmed the order and the rules which Loyola had composed for it.

The order of the Jesuits.

It was not unnatural that Loyola, an old soldier, should have modelled his order somewhat after the army. Discipline, an iron discipline, was its main characteristic. Only after a long period of probation was a novice admitted to full membership. The trend of the long training was to divest the candidate of his personal will and to persuade him to merge his individuality in the will of the order. This general will was personified by the general, the supreme head, who ruled the members like a regiment of soldiers. In an organization where all private desires and ambitions are eradicated, and only one voice of command makes itself heard, there is bound to be achieved a perfect unity and cohesion. The members serving under the general were of four classes: (1) coadjutors temporal or

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lay brothers, (2) scholastics who, as teachers in the school, were preparing themselves for higher service, (3) coadjutors spiritual or priests, who had taken the three vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, and (4) the professed who, in addition to the three vows, had taken a fourth vow of special obedience to the Pope. Only the professed had a voice in the government of the society, and the fourth vow imposed upon them reveals that the order was conceived as the prop and weapon of the Papacy. Thus it will be seen that the order, although it maintained affiliations with the laity by admitting merchants, nobles, and statesmen, as it were, into its outer court-yard, was substantially a congregation of priests. As such its labors were determined for it. They were preaching mission work and education.

Growth of the order.

The society grew prodigiously in numbers and in wealth. When Loyola, its first general, died in 1556 it was already a factor to be reckoned with, and before the end of the century it possessed many thousand members and supported several hundred colleges and houses, scattered everywhere over Catholic Europe. Recognizing that youth is the impressionable age, the maintenance of schools became one of the chief activities of the society, and thanks to the energy and zeal of its members their system of instruction reached a high degree of excellence. In fact, the Jesuits remained for many generations the foremost educators of Europe. But important as were the young, the old were not neglected. The Jesuits became famous preachers, and as priests acquired much skill in the treatment of the conscience and in resolving the doubts which beset at times even the sturdiest believer. By reason of this gift they were generally in demand as confessors, in which capacity they found their way into the councils of the mighty of the earth, and exercised considerable, though indefinable, political sway.

Their schools.

Their preaching.

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Sustained by their devotion to the Catholic cause they carried their propaganda across the seas among the Hindoos, Japanese, and Chinese of Asia and among the Indians of America, and were not afraid to penetrate into the Protestant north in the hope of winning the revolted peoples back to Mother Church. Nor were these efforts without fruit. If the Roman Church was enabled to raise its head again in Germany and England, it was chiefly due to the secret, tireless, and death-defying labors of the Jesuits. In the course of the seventeenth century Germany was startled by the news of the return of many a Protestant prince to the Church of Rome, and when the Scottish Stuarts upon the British throne and the electoral family of Saxony, the cradle of the Reformation, sued to be readmitted to the papal fold, the outlook for Protestantism became dark and threatening.

Their propaganda.

But the Jesuits were not the only assistants that Rome prepared for service in the period of its revival. Other important aids were the Inquisition, the Council of Trent, and the Index.

The Inquisition, set up in Rome in 1542, was an ecclesiastical court of inquiry, intrusted with the ferreting out of heresy and the punishment of those who propagated it. It was not a novel idea, for a similar court of Inquisition had proved its efficacy in the Middle Ages by destroying the Albigensian heretics of southern France; but it had been allowed to lapse in the fifteenth century except in Spain, where a use was found for it in dealing with the special conditions created in the peninsula by the presence of a large number of Jews and Moors. When the Papacy at last awakened to the danger to which it was exposed by the new heresies of Luther and Calvin, it naturally bethought itself of this ancient weapon. The bull of 1542, which created the Inquisition, was soon followed by others which gave the institution its definitive organization. A committee of

The papal Inquisition.

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cardinals, sitting at Rome, investigated all cases of heresy denounced to it, declared their sentence of imprisonment, confiscation, or death, and were empowered to despatch other inquisitors to any point where they seemed to be needed. It was the papal ambition to give this committee a jurisdiction as wide as that of the Church itself, but herein Rome was disappointed. The Spanish Inquisition, so terribly efficient long before the Roman Inquisition was established, had become closely associated with the royal power, and resented any interference with its operation. In other countries there were similar difficulties; either the bishops, or the king, or some other established power blocked the way to the papal pretensions. Heresy these countries had punished in the past and would continue to punish, but they had done it with the aid of already existing courts, and plainly told the Pope that they would have none of his interference. Consequently, the Roman Inquisition never exercised any notable activity except in Italy. If we hear of systematic persecution elsewhere—and there was an abundance of it in every Catholic country—we should take note that it was accomplished by a local or national Inquisition, conducted by national officials, and never, as the Pope desired, intrusted to his hands as one of the functions of a centralized monarchy.

The territory of the papal Inquisition limited to Italy.

The Council of Trent.

If Jesuits and Inquisition chiefly supplied the Church with its militant vigor, the Council of Trent precisely defined the territory which Catholicism was resolved to hold and defend. We have seen, in connection with Indulgences and other points of doctrine raised by Luther, that there were many practices and beliefs in the mediæval Church which had developed gradually by custom and had never been authoritatively defined. In consequence, the Saxon reformer ventured to assert that he had as good and as Catholic sanction for his doctrine of faith as his opponents for their

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doctrine of works. Charles V. believed that if Catholics and Protestants could only be brought together in a General Council, they would succeed in reducing their differences to a common formula, and so perpetuate the cherished unity of Christendom. The emperor therefore ceaselessly urged upon the Pope the duty of calling a Council. The Pope, for his part, resisted the imperial demand, mindful that the Councils of the past had threatened his absolute control, and fearful lest a Council at this juncture should mean surrender to the Protestants. In 1542 he had at length given way, and called a Council at Trent, but adjourned it again before it had held a single session. Whenever the emperor had the whip-hand, he obliged or persuaded the Pope to issue another call, but the result of the second (1545–47) and third meetings (1551–52) was hardly more satisfactory than the first, and when the emperor died it was with the full knowledge that his conciliar remedy for the Protestant schism had been a failure. Even if the Popes had not set their wills against the plan, it would have been wrecked upon the opposition of the Protestants themselves, who had by the middle of the century got far past the point of possible agreement. After Charles's death, however, when the mediæval reaction had definitely triumphed in the Church and all talk of concession to the Protestants had been hushed, the Council of Trent met for the fourth and last time in the years 1562–63, and set the crown upon a notable historical labor. It now took the uncompromising stand that the Protestants were heretics, that no negotiations could be carried on with them, and that the government, worship, and doctrines of the mediæval Church were exactly right as they were. Not reconciliation, as Charles had planned, but the solemn reaffirmation of the history and traditions of the Church was accepted as the purpose for which it had been called. In consequence, the Council took upon itself to formulate

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authoritatively, and in a manner admitting of no dispute, the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and rendered the division of Christianity definite and final by laying a formal anathema on every Protestant opinion. The official compilation called "The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent," in which the results of the sessions are registered, constitutes the most complete statement of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church in existence. This precise staking off of Catholic ground was to be of the utmost advantage during the coming sharp struggle with the forces of Protestantism. Every Catholic could now instruct himself as to what he was obliged to believe and defend, and knew also what he was bound to abominate and shun.

The Papacy strengthened by the Council of Trent.

A result of Trent which must have surprised everybody, in view of the unconcealed aversion with which the Popes had viewed the prospect of a Council, was that the Papacy came out of the crisis actually strengthened. Between Councils and Popes existed an ancient rivalry over the question of the final authority in the Church. The Councils had always claimed it, but its exercise had during the last centuries been assumed by the Popes. In the Council of Trent there was a party of bishops who took their stand on the old platform of conciliar supremacy, but the papal party, assisted by the new champions of the Pope, the Jesuits, won a complete victory. The Pope came out of the Council so far in the lead that the Council has never since proved dangerous to his authority. In fact, only one Council has been called since that of Trent, the Council of the Vatican, which met in 1870, and its sole business was to vote its own abdication by solemnly affirming the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope. But though papal infallibility was voted at a comparatively late time, it was, after all, nothing but the inevitable corollary of the absolutism which was tacitly acknowledged as early as the Council of Trent.

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The Index.

Before the Council adjourned it empowered the Pope to draw up a list of prohibited books, destined to grow famous under the name of the Index. The purpose of the Index was to stigmatize the heresiarchs and to designate clearly all heretical writings, in order to preserve good Catholics from their evil influence. The Index thus authorized was published in 1564, and from that time to our own day the Papacy has maintained the policy of proscribing books which are, or seem to be, subversive of its system. Many of the epoch-making works which northern scholarship produced, not only in theology but also in the broader fields of science and culture, were incorporated in the Index, with the result that professing Catholics have been deprived of an incalculable intellectual stimulus. The gradual shifting of the mental centre of gravity from Italy, where it had rested in the Renaissance, to the countries beyond the Alps was due in no small degree to the narrow policy which shut its eyes upon progress, and timidly declared for security in place of independence.

Catholicism becomes aggressive.

We have now acquainted ourselves with the movement known as the Catholic reaction, or, quite as justly, as the Catholic Reformation. While we have assured ourselves that there was a true reformation, affecting the life and manners of the clergy, and filling the Church with new sincerity and zeal, we also have learned that there was a resolute return to, and stiffening of, the mediæval system of government and theology. The effect of the combined measures was to inspire the Church with a truly electrical energy. If in the course of the first half of the sixteenth century it had been driven from position after position until the very sparrows on the house-tops prophesied its early fall, beginning approximately with the creation of the Jesuits it rallied its scattered and defeated forces, strongly fortified its remaining territory, and not only stopped all further advance, but

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soon undertook to reconquer its lost provinces. Protestantism was now threatened in its turn, and the struggle which ensued is the central interest in European history for the rest of the century.

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CHAPTER VI

SPAIN UNDER CHARLES I. (1516–56), KNOWN AS EMPEROR CHARLES V., AND PHILIP II. (1556–98); HER WORLD EMINENCE AND HER DECAY

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SOURCE READINGS: ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapter XXVIII., Parts 3 and 4 (Charles and Philip).

The reign of Charles I., 1516–56.

FROM the Spanish national point of view it was a great misfortune that Charles I. (1516–56) was elected to the Empire in 1519, and became Emperor Charles V. Henceforth, having duties to perform in Germany, he could no longer give his whole time to Spain. In fact, from the time of his imperial election he seems gradually to have lost sight of any strictly national point of view; he became, above all, desirous of playing a grand European rôle, and that naturally brought with it a division of his service and a perpetual compromise of the interests of all the nations which he represented. Now, the interests of Spain and Germany were not necessarily opposed. One great interest, the defeat of the Turks, who were pushing along the Danube into Germany, and along the Mediterranean toward Spain, they even had in common; but what had Germany to do with the emperor's Italian wars or his colonial policy, and what

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benefit did Spain derive from his life-long struggle against Protestantism? Moreover, although the government of Spain needed Charles's personal attention because he was the focus of political life, out of a reign of forty years he spent in Spain hardly fifteen. It is true, he was the greatest political figure of his day, and his fellow-actors upon the European stage shrank to pigmies when he made his entrance; it is true, he was of tireless activity and with all seriousness tried to live up to the demands which the old illusory ideal of the emperor, the arbiter of the world, made upon him; but it is also true that his grandeur was a personal grandeur, and not identified with the nation, as is the case with the world's great sovereigns, for instance, Elizabeth of England and Henry IV. of France. In a word, Charles used the Spanish resources for his own, and not exclusively for Spanish ends.

Strength of nation sapped by growing absolutism.

But other causes which lay back of the reign and personality of Charles contributed to the decay of Spain. We have seen that the royal power grew greatly under Ferdinand and Isabella, and that such growth was on the whole to the advantage of the country, because it humbled the nobility and facilitated the suppression of the robber-knights. Under Charles this centralizing movement began to show some of its darker sides. In the early part of his reign, in 1521, the cities revolted as a protest against the excessive taxation to which they were subjected. After a fierce struggle their revolt was put down, with the result that the government, henceforth suspicious of the towns, cancelled many of their liberties. In the same way the Cortes, the parliament of Castile, once the proudest self-governing body of Europe, was slighted and abased on every occasion. It still maintained its right of voting the taxes which the government demanded, but the act tended more and more to degenerate into a mere mechanical registration of the king's wishes,

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while all share in the making of the laws was practically surrendered. Thus the initiative of the Spanish people in local and national affairs was systematically checked, and where a policy of this sort holds sway it is safe to assert that a people is running the risk of losing its vigor.

Foolish economic policy.

Economic causes also contributed powerfully to the early decay of Spain. We have seen that the king in order to carry on his European wars was obliged to tax the Spanish people heavily. Now the mere drain of money was in itself serious enough, but the Spanish Government made it nearly unbearable by coupling with it a fiscal and industrial policy which could not have been worse had it been dictated by Spain's worst enemy. The ordinary tax (*alcabala*) was a duty of ten per cent on everything sold, which naturally had the effect of totally discouraging commerce, while industrial enterprises, like the manufacture of cloth, were weighted with so many burdens and regulations that they were smothered in the cradle. Add to these discouragements a certain southern slothfulness and a national fondness for the display of elegant leisure, and it becomes plain why Spain never developed her natural resources but grew visibly poorer from decade to decade.

Intellectual paralysis caused by the Inquisition.

And from this analysis of the malady of Spain, let not the Inquisition be omitted. We have seen how, though operating against heretics, it possessed from the first a special significance, because the heretics, being Jews and Moors, happened to be a racially foreign body. Its political character was confirmed by the fact that the crown and not the Pope controlled the institution, and that its numerous confiscations flowed into the royal treasury. The Inquisition inscribed upon its banner the policy, "one faith one people," and though it accomplished its end, it did so at a terrible cost. Several thousand Jews and Moors were burned at the stake; many thousands fled or were banished. Apart

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from the wrong, the mental and material loss was irreparable, since Jews and Moors represented the most active commercial and intellectual elements in the peninsula. When toward the middle of the century Protestanism raised its head here and there, it was crushed with the same relentless energy. But if the Inquisition was established to repress heretics, it soon extended its watchfulness to the whole orthodox society of Spain. Every form of intellectual activity fell under suspicion, until no man dared think a free thought, and the whole country sank into stagnation. However, since a yoke is hardly a yoke when it is borne as proudly as if it were a chain of honor, it should be remembered that the Spanish people on the whole viewed the Inquisition with profound approval. They subscribed to its general principle with enthusiasm, and in their fervid catholicity cheered the execution of their enemies. When the fire was laid in the public square to the long fagot-piles of the victims, the Spaniards crowded to the ceremony as to a bull-fight.

Philip II. succeeds to the kingdom of Spain.

The last thirteen years of his reign Charles spent in Germany. The Protestant successes there broke his spirit, and he resigned his crowns in 1556, Spain to his son Philip, Germany to his brother Ferdinand. Philip II. (1556–98) on his accession found himself at the head of states (Spain and her colonies, Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands) hardly less extensive than those which Charles had governed, and as he did not become emperor he had, from the Spanish point of view, the great excellence over Charles that he was a national king. As such he enjoyed the favor of his people, retaining it even through the disasters which mark the close of his reign.

The character of Philip II.

It is curious that this same Philip, whom contemporary Spaniards sincerely esteemed, should stand before the rest of Europe as the darkest tyrant and most persistent enemy of light and progress whom the age produced. To this tra-

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ditional Protestant picture there certainly belongs a measure of truth; but calm investigation informs us that this truth is associated with prejudice and distorted by exaggeration. Philip II. was a severe, formal, and narrow-minded man, who was animated by the Catholic fervor traditional among his people and his family, and who had acquired from the sad experiences of his father Charles a perfect horror of religious diversity. Therefore his guiding thought, while there was life in him, was to maintain the Catholic faith by repression of heresy through the Inquisition, where he had the power; by war, where war had become inevitable. Every Protestant when he thinks of Philip II. thinks of the Inquisition. But the Inquisition, as we have seen, was not Philip's invention, nor did he, although he made a revolting use of it, handle it more cruelly than his predecessors. Indeed, a scrutiny of his life will convince us that the mephistophelian portrait of him which his enemies popularized does not fit the case. He was, in fact, a plodding, reticent man, who took his business of kingship very seriously, and who, but for the one spark struck from him by his radical intolerance, would have been as foreign to any kind of enthusiasm as the head of a bank. He passed his days and his nights over state affairs. Every document had to go through his own hands. Historians who have examined his papers declare it incredible that so much matter should have been written by one man in one lifetime. In fact, work was his failing, for work with him degenerated into the rage for minutiæ, and ended by enfeebling his grasp of essentials. Out of business hours this ogre of the Protestant mythology was a tender and devoted husband and father. Even his worthless son, Don Carlos, whose mysterious death in prison has been the cause of violent and frequent defamation of the royal name, he is now admitted to have treated with an exemplary forbearance.

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Philip as the champion of Catholicism.

It is true that Philip became the champion of the Catholic reaction, which is to say that he identified himself with the greatest movement of his half of the century, and rushed into war with the Protestant world of the north. Doubtless, he gloried in this rôle on religious grounds; nevertheless, an impartial student must agree that his wars were as much forced upon him by Protestant aggression and the logical progress of events, as determined by his own Catholic impulses. As things stood after the Council of Trent, a great Protestant-Catholic world-war was inevitable. It came by way of the Spanish Netherlands. The Netherlands revolted, and Philip set about putting down the insurrection. When he grew aware that the question of religion was involved, his measures of repression became barbarous; they were the traditional Spanish measures, the rack and the fagot; worst of all, from the political point of view, they proved inadequate in the end. The Netherlands could not be pacified by Philip, and gradually won the sympathies and secured the aid of the French Huguenots and the German and English Protestants. So the war widened. Finding himself opposed in the Netherlands by united Protestantism, the king tried to secure the Catholic sympathies by putting himself forward as the champion of the Pope and the Church.

Philip inaugurates his reign by a war with France.

This great struggle between Philip and the Protestant powers, wherein lies the main significance of his reign, developed only gradually. When he ascended the throne, it looked as if the chief concern with him, as with his father Charles, would be to set a limit to the ambitions of France and keep her out of Italy. In the very year of Philip's accession (1556), Henry II. of France, in alliance with the Pope, began a war which is a close counterpart of the many wars waged between Charles and Francis. Now as then the chief object of contention was Italy, and now, as on all former

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occasions, fortune decided for the Spaniard. France, after suffering two capital defeats in the Netherlands, one at St. Quentin (1557) and the other at Gravelines (1558), once more came to terms with her old enemy. By the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) she accepted the Spanish domination in Italy. We may assume that France would have again returned to the attack as so often before, if civil dissensions had not broken out which fully engaged her attention for a long time to come. Philip himself became presently taken up with the question of the revolted Netherlands. Thus the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis marks an epoch. It rings down the curtain on the long political struggle with France, chiefly over Italy—a struggle which had begun more than a half century before with Charles VIII.'s invasion of 1494—and it is followed by the era of religious wars, which cover the rest of Philip's reign.

The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis marks an epoch, 1559.

It has already been submitted that these religious wars are not to be conceived as an act of wanton aggression on Philip's part, but rather as the inevitable consequence of the animosities and enmities aroused by Protestant thrust and Catholic parry. Their origin and centre is to be found in the Netherlands. The revolt of these provinces against Philip, their sovereign, will be treated in a subsequent chapter (Chapter VIII.). We shall find that it began before Philip's reign was ten years old, that it involved a cruel and stubborn conflict, and that if it turned finally to the advantage of the Protestant Dutch that result was due in large measure to the circumstance that the insurgents gained the sympathy and aid of the whole reformed world in their heroic struggle. For as Protestantism became aware of the vigor of the Catholic reaction, it felt threatened by the power of Spain, which had undertaken the championship of that reaction. Inevitably the Protestant peoples were drawn about brave Holland. Philip saw himself gradually

The revolt of the Netherlands.

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engaged in a world-war; to the war with the Dutch rebels was added a war with the French Huguenots and a war with the England of Elizabeth. Furiously Philip turned at length upon his leading Protestant enemy, England.

The Armada, 1588.

The height of the struggle between Spain and England was the sending of the great fleet, the Armada, against the heretic island-kingdom (1588). The Atlantic waters had never seen the like; but the expedition failed miserably by reason of the superior skill and audacity of the English sailors and the disasters caused by wind and water. Philip bore his defeat with dignified resignation. He spoke unaffectedly of the deep grief it caused him "not to be able to render God this great service." But the destruction of the Armada settled the fate of the religious war. It determined that the Dutch should not be reconquered; it established the Protestant world henceforth securely against the Catholic reaction; and it prepared a naval successor for degenerate Spain in youthful England.

Philip's wars with the Turks.

The Dutch and their Protestant allies were not Philip's only enemies. Worse offenders against Catholic Christianity than the Dutch, the Mohammedan Turks, engaged his attention during his whole reign. The Turks were then and continued for some generations to be the terror of the west. Bit by bit they were conquering the possessions of Venice in the Orient; foot by foot they were pushing across Transylvania and Hungary toward Germany; with the help of the Mohammedan pirate states of northern Africa, which had accepted the suzerainty of the Sultan, they were plundering the coasts of Spain and Italy, and were threatening to sweep the Christians wholly off the Mediterranean Sea. Finally, in their great need, the Pope, Venice, and Spain formed an alliance (1571), and in the same year their united fleet won a brilliant victory over the Turks off Lepanto in Greece. Rarely has a greater number of ships been brought

Victory of Lepanto, 1571.

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into action, the fleet of the crescent as well as that of the cross amounting to about two hundred galleys. The commander-in-chief of the Christians was the young and chivalrous Don John of Austria, a half-brother of Philip II. Dressed in white velvet and gold he was rowed down the lanes of his galleys, crying exhortations to his men: "Christ is your leader. This is the battle of the cross." His dash and courage, coupled with an unusual display of energy on Philip's part in raising supplies, contributed the main share to the triumph. Hardly more than thirty Turkish vessels escaped the ruin; 30,000 Turks were killed, 12,000 Christian rowers freed from slavery. The victory brought neither Spain nor Christendom any great territorial benefits, but the Mohammedan sea-power was checked, and though still threatening for more than a hundred years to come, fell from this time into a gradual decline. Lepanto is one of the proud moments of the history of Philip and of Spain.

Philip acquires Portugal.

A triumph, productive at least of more immediate and material results than Lepanto, was Philip's acquisition of Portugal. Still it cannot be said that this success was due to any special skill of his own, and the sequel would show that it was hardly a success at all. Portugal was the only state of the peninsula of the Pyrenees which Spain had not yet absorbed. Frequent marriages between the royal houses had, however, prepared a union of the two states. In 1580 the last native king of Portugal died, and Philip, who had a fair claim by reason of descent (see Genealogical Table IV), thereupon took possession of the state and of her colonies. The Portuguese, proud of their nationality and their achievements during the Age of Discoveries, accepted the yoke of the greater state unwillingly. The memories of Portuguese independence would not perish, and after Spain had entered definitely upon her decline, and only forty years after Philip's death, Portugal rose and won back her freedom under

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a new royal house, the House of Braganza (1640). Since then Portugal and Spain have never been united.

Further development of absolutism.

We have ill understood the cold, reticent, and obstinate mind of Philip if we have not grasped that there was not an atom of originality about it. His handling of foreign affairs, where we have just followed his course, was inspired by his father's policy, although he laid a little more stress, in accordance with the spirit of his time, upon religious considerations. And in domestic affairs, too, he copied his father slavishly, with the result that the evils already noted under Charles were rapidly accentuated. The political activity of the people still further declined. The Cortes of Castile, although continuing to meet to vote taxes, became as docile as an ancient house-dog, while the Cortes and the other free institutions of Aragon, which had exhibited a much higher degree of vitality than the corresponding institutions of Castile, met with a staggering blow in 1591. In that year the Aragonese ventured to defy the authority of the king and of the Inquisition, were overrun by a royal army, and utterly cowed. The institutions, it is true, Philip, in spite of his victory, did not much alter, but institutions, all history teaches, are nothing without their informing spirit. Thus absolutism won its last victory and held unquestioned control.

Economic ruin.

The financial and economic misery which merely showed its head under Charles became under Philip permanent and frightful. Commerce languished, industry perished, and agriculture lay in ruins, especially in the south. In the period of the Moorish supremacy the south had by an extensive and scientific use of irrigation been converted into one of the garden spots of the world, but the intolerance of the Spaniards looked askance at this prosperity. When Granada was conquered in 1492 the Moors received a guarantee of full religious liberty. But the solemn promises

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made were not kept, and frequent disturbances among the outraged Moors culminated in a great rising in 1568. When this was put down in 1570, after frightful mutual massacres, Philip resolved to finish with Granada forever and at any cost. Wholesale banishment was called in to complete the work of the Inquisition, and every person tainted with Moorish blood was ordered from the province. Thus was the vexatious Moorish problem settled in Granada, but its settlement put an end to prosperity for many a year. Under the operation of these various conditions Spain became less and less able to pay the ruinous taxes demanded by its sovereign, who, however much he got, always needed more, arbitrarily reduced the rate of interest, and ended by repudiating his debts.

The Moors

In what book of history or of romance is there a more moving story than that of Spain in the sixteenth century? Fortune showered her best upon her, raised for her the loftiest throne of Europe, and set the New World under her feet for a foot-stool. But it was all for naught. The Inquisition by enforcing uniformity sapped the nation of its intellectual vigor, and absolutism by destroying self-government paralyzed the national energy. What vital germs these two insidious agents spared fell a victim to the adventurous and spendthrift policy of Charles and Philip, which induced them to interfere in the affairs of all the world. Inquisition, absolutism, and imperialism are the ills which engulfed Spain in her ruin.

The triple malady of Spain.

Philip III. (1598–1621), who succeeded Philip II., was an utterly incapable man, the tool and puppet of his favorites. In 1609 he was forced to bend his pride and conclude with the rebel Dutch a twelve years' truce. The truce implied recognition of Dutch independence, and was at the same time a public acknowledgment of Spain's decline. Under Philip IV. (1621–65) the country dropped definitely to the

Permanent decline of Spain.

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second and third rank among European powers, in consequence of the disgraceful treaties of Westphalia (1648) and of the Pyrenees (1659), which closed the long wars with the Netherlands and with France. By 1659 the political, social, and material decline of Spain was patent to every observer.

Outburst of art and literature.

It is something of a mystery why Spain, during her decline under the later Philips, should have enjoyed a remarkable literary and artistic outburst. It is true that there was no broad or general intellectual activity; the Inquisition saw to it that no such movement should gain ground. But art and literature flourished for a time, possibly signifying the last flicker of that national energy which was exhibited in such an imposing manner in the Age of Discoveries. At any rate, Spain was endowed with a great national literature, to which Cervantes (d. 1616) contributed his inimitable "Don Quixote," a satire on chivalry, floated on the most tender and uproarious humor that ever tickled poet's brain, and which Lope de Vega (d. 1635) and Calderon (d. 1681) helped enrich with a national drama, inviting comparison with the English drama of the Shakespearian period. At the same time Velasquez (d. 1660) and Murillo (d. 1681) founded a national school of painting for which the world must remain forever grateful.

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CHAPTER VII

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS; TRIUMPH OF THE REFORMATION UNDER ELIZABETH (1558–1603)

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Henry VIII. (1509–47).

England and the revival of learning.

DURING the period of tranquillity imposed upon England by the firm administration of the first Tudor sovereign, Henry VII., the country first began to show in a marked degree the effects of the revival of learning. The two universities, Cambridge and Oxford, but especially Oxford, became the centres of the new classical and historical studies which had been brought to honor again upon the Continent,

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and undertook their dissemination through the land. The fact that Erasmus of Rotterdam, the acknowledged prince of the humanists, spent much time in England between 1498 and 1506 added new zest to the labors of the English scholars, with two of whom, John Colet and Sir Thomas More, he became linked in enduring bonds of friendship.

John Colet, 1466–1519.

John Colet first rose into prominence as a lecturer at Oxford, where he attracted a large audience as an expositor of the New Testament. Like Luther, he was drawn to the Apostle Paul by his simple and holy personality, and like Luther, though many years before him, he upheld Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. Later, because of his power as a preacher, he was called to London to be dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, and while at this post he built himself a monument which has proved more lasting than brass. Convinced that the surest way to effect the improvement of society was to begin with the young, he founded with his own means St. Paul's school for boys, where Latin and Greek taught in a fresh way crowded out the old and barren studies of the schoolmen. St. Paul's school was a new departure in education, and became the model for many similar foundations throughout England.

Sir Thomas More, 1480–1535.

Sir Thomas More, after attending the university, entered public life, and rose under Henry VIII. to be Lord Chancellor, the highest civil honor in the kingdom. As a humanist his most important deed was the publication of a book

Utopia.

called Utopia (1515). Utopia was an imaginary realm beyond the sea (the word utopia is derived from the Greek and means nowhere) which, being grounded on justice, reason, intelligence, and liberty, nourished a race of men and women who lived in peace and happiness.* To describe such a country was to point out to men the shortcomings of their own state and society, and spur them on to higher things. The breadth of the book is characteristic of the author, for

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More's implied criticism does not stop with ecclesiastical abuses or theological absurdities, but covers the whole conduct of life. In Utopia education was general; religious toleration was an accepted rule of state; there were wise sanitary provisions in the cities to avoid pestilence; and such perfect equality reigned that there were neither rich nor poor. The book was in essence a comprehensive socialistic programme, but in the eyes of contemporaries, at least, contained matter so unrealizable that the term Utopian came to signify an amiable and somewhat idle dreamer. Nevertheless, many of the features of More's ideal republic have been adopted by our civilization in the course of the advancing centuries.

The revival of learning is the forerunner of revolution.

We have already seen that it was such critical activity as this which prepared the Reformation. England followed in the main the same lines of development as Germany, except that no Luther appeared at the critical moment to turn the accumulated discontent against Rome and head a movement of revolt. Revolt came in due time in England, too, but it was carried through by the king in person, as a last and desperate remedy in a most unsavory divorce suit. We shall examine this incident, but should guard even now against giving it a greater importance than it merits. Henry VIII. did indeed snap the ties binding England to Rome, but he did not make England Protestant. No man and no sovereign could effect such a change in the realm of the mind. The Protestantism of England was a slow mental evolution, which did not become confirmed in the blood till a generation later, in the time of Elizabeth; and it was, like its German counterpart, the outgrowth of the humanistic movement.

The accession of Henry VIII., 1509.

Henry VIII. mounted the throne of England in 1509, on the death of his father, Henry VII., famous as the healer of the civil woes of England and founder of the "strong mon-

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archy." He was not yet twenty years old, a youth of attractive presence, skilled in gentlemanly sports, such as riding and tennis, condescending with all people, free-handed and fond of pageantry, and altogether the idol of his nation, which received him with acclamations of joy. And not least exultant over his coming to power were the English humanists. For Henry had been brought into the circle of the new learning by his tutors, and was reputed to be favorably inclined toward it.

Breach between Henry and the humanists.

The joy of the humanists over the accession of Henry was not destined to last long. The king, indeed, distinguished the propagandists of the new learning by various honorary appointments; but he soon showed that he did not take their principles of reform of Church and state seriously, would adopt of their programme only what suited his caprice, and was clearly determined upon following the bent of his own mind. Under the smooth exterior of the king there appeared an iron personality, which, as the years rolled on, tossed aside more and more all restraints upon its despotic will.

Henry's foreign policy.

A few years sufficed to show that Henry was not so much concerned with realizing Utopia in England, as with raising his own and his country's prestige by playing a rôle in European politics. His father had sat quietly at home, had perfected the administration, and amassed a considerable treasure. Henry VIII. saw immediately that with France and Spain holding each other in check and engaged in permanent enmity over Italy, there was a splendid opportunity for an ambitious sovereign, who was free to throw his weight into the scales for either party. It is true that the French-Spanish controversy hardly touched the interests of England; still, an English ruler of the sixteenth century could not forget that less than a hundred years before a warlike predecessor had been crowned king of France, and that from the port of Calais on the French coast, the last stronghold

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on the Continent which floated the English flag, a descent could be made at any time upon Paris. That Henry therefore kept a sharp lookout across the channel requires neither apology nor explanation. If in the eternal warfare between France and Spain England threw in her lot with Spain, she might ask in reward the restitution of a part of France. This speculation determined Henry's general attitude. But though leaning by preference toward Spain, contingencies might arise which would make it advantageous for him to comport himself for a time as the ally of France. In that case he could demand some territorial reward, or, if that was too remote a chance, could stipulate for French gold in payment for his efforts.

Relations of England and Scotland.

Such in outline was Henry's foreign policy, modified, however, by one factor—Scotland. Henry VII. had inaugurated a policy of reconciliation with Scotland, which he hoped would lead in the course of time to a complete union. In this expectation he had married his oldest daughter, Margaret, to the Scottish king, James IV. But matters did not progress as favorably as he had planned. The enmity between Scots and English was bred too deep in the bone to be easily eradicated, and the Scots, suspicious for centuries of their more powerful neighbor, had looked so steadily toward France for aid and protection that they could not abandon the habit. A war of England with France had generally in the past brought Scotland into the field with the object of making a diversion in favor of France along the northern border, and this traditional alliance, which caught England between two fires, was usually maintained during Henry's reign. Thus Henry was obliged to wage frequent war with Scotland, but only in moments of intense resentment did he forget what we may name the Tudor policy, with reference to the northern kingdom, of reconciliation and ultimate union.

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Henry's wars.

After these general remarks we can dispense with following in detail the intricate game which Henry played upon the diplomatic chess-board of Europe. He joined the Pope and Spain in the Holy League of 1512, the object of which was to drive France from Italy. When Emperor Charles V. in 1521 renewed the war against France, Henry again fought shoulder to shoulder with Spain, until the great victory of Pavia and the capture of the French king frightened him with the spectre of a universal Spanish domination and drove him for a time into the arms of France. Late in his reign, in 1543, he joined the emperor once more in an attack upon Francis I., in which the chief English success was the capture of Boulogne. During these wars Scotland was very troublesome and several times invaded England, though with small effect, since at Flodden (1513) and at Solway (1542) her armies were crushingly defeated. To sum up we may say that Henry won small profit for England from his military enterprises, but that he acquired at least a proud personal position as a factor in international politics.

Wolsey.

The favorite adviser of Henry in the early period of his reign was Thomas Wolsey. Wolsey was a commoner by birth, but having joined the clergy rose rapidly by virtue of his talents from post to post, until the king's favor won for him the archbishopric of York and at the same time raised him to the position of Lord Chancellor, the highest post in the civil administration of the realm (1515). His civil position he filled honorably on the whole, proving himself an able administrator and exercising a check upon the king's martial inclinations, but his immersion in political affairs led him to neglect his spiritual functions and filled him with a sense of importance which induced him to order his life on a scale of munificence altogether out of keeping with the English conception of a churchman. Stimulated by the criticism of the humanists, Wolsey undertook to con-

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sider some of the abuses of the Church, but he was not yet launched upon his enterprise when Luther's theses against Indulgences (1517) made the Reformation the question of the hour. The development of England's attitude toward the greatest contemporary issue is the kernel of Henry's reign.

Henry's attitude toward Luther.

Henry watched Luther's first attack upon the Papacy and Catholic doctrine with instinctive aversion. In fact, such was his resentment that he did not disdain to descend into the lists in person against Luther, and in 1521 published a vehement pamphlet, wherein he defended the sacraments and the authority of the Pope. In return the gratified Leo X. conferred upon Henry the title—still used by English sovereigns—of Defender of the Faith. Of such nature was the understanding between Pope and king in Henry's early days. In another ten years the wind had veered and couriers were speeding from Rome not with messages of friendship, but with bulls of excommunication. This radical change was brought about by the peculiar circumstances of Henry's marriage and his suit for divorce.

Henry's marriage.

Henry's marriage deserves close consideration. The reader will remember that Henry VII., in pursuance of his peace policy, had sought to associate himself with Spain. The outcome of this political intimacy was a contract of espousal, by which Arthur, the prince of Wales, was married to Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Shortly after the ceremony Arthur died, and as the desire for the alliance continued as before, the idea naturally occurred to the families concerned to marry Arthur's widow to his surviving brother, Henry. However, an obstacle to this project was offered by a law of the Church, which forbade a man to marry his deceased brother's wife. In this dilemma Pope Julius II. when appealed to had recourse to his dispensing powers, by virtue of which he could make a law non-

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The dispensation.

operative in a particular case. He issued what is called a papal dispensation, and on the strength of this the marriage took place in 1509. Now it will be readily understood that if the Pope, as Luther was affirming every day with increasing violence, was an impostor, the exercise of the dispensing power was a usurpation, the law remained the law whatever happened, and Henry's marriage was illegal. In addition, therefore, to the natural inclination of a despotic mind to uphold the cause of authority everywhere and at all times, Henry had a very personal reason for wanting to see Luther put down and the sovereignty of the Pope raised above reproach and challenge. Thus it happened that Henry crossed pens with Luther and became the Defender of the Faith.

Henry desires to be divorced.

But time brings about surprising changes. Only a few years after Henry had broken a lance in behalf of the Papacy, his attitude toward his marriage altered. He had hitherto shown much attachment to his queen, but now he thought he had weighty reasons for divorce from her. He had had several children by her, but only one child, Mary, had survived infancy, and owing to Queen Catharine's age there was no hope of further offspring. Even if Mary had not been a very sickly child, the king might well feel that he was playing a dangerous game to stake the succession upon one fragile life. On dynastic grounds, therefore, Henry felt troubled and desired to marry again. But he had also an incentive of a more personal nature. The aging Catharine had long since lost her attractiveness for him, and he was now madly infatuated with her young and charming maid of honor, Anne Boleyn. In 1527 he first whispered to his confidant, Wolsey, the word divorce.

Henry desires the Pope to annul the dispensation.

Questions of marriage and divorce belonged, as we have seen, to the exclusive competence of the Church, and the Church absolutely refused to countenance divorce except in

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certain exceptional circumstances. Henry, however, thought he had a very strong and simple case. The dispensation on which his marriage rested he now declared in his altered frame of mind to be defective. The reigning Pope, who was Clement VII., would have only to acknowledge that defectiveness and cancel the dispensation, wherewith the marriage would be dissolved without further ado. This simple course Wolsey, who had meanwhile in addition to his other dignities become cardinal and papal legate, undertook to urge upon the Pope, but without avail. The Pope, partly perhaps from conscientious scruples, certainly because he did not dare offend the powerful emperor Charles V.—who as head of the Spanish house championed the cause of his aunt, the English queen—proceeded with extreme caution. He would examine, he would not pronounce. In 1529 he agreed to send to England a legate, Campeggio, who together with Wolsey, already on the ground, was to hold a legatine court and ascertain the facts. The king put aside his dignity so far as to appear in court like a common suitor, but even this humiliating act profited him nothing, for the Pope, still proceeding on his original plan of delay, suddenly transferred the case to Rome. Henry was furious at this crumbling of his hopes, and in his eagerness to make a scapegoat of someone, let fall the weight of his displeasure on the head of Wolsey. He stripped him of his civil honors and exiled him to the country; still unappeased, he had just ordered his arrest, as a measure preparatory to his execution, when the great cardinal was stricken ill and died (1530). At the last he cast a regretful backward look upon his life, using to his attendants words which Shakespeare has employed almost literally in his play of Henry VIII.: "Had I but served my God with half the zeal I served my king, He would not in mine age have left me naked to mine enemies."

Wolsey's disgrace, 1530.

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Henry resolves to renounce the Pope.

What to do now? Almost any other man would have given up, but Henry had the kind of will which grows terrible with opposition. If the Pope could not be got to act in what the king considered a just and necessary case, he would repudiate the Pope altogether and establish the English Church on a purely national basis. Further, he would no longer permit the Church to remain an independent power in the state, but would reduce it to subjection to the civil power, which was, of course, himself. The officers of a church cut off from Rome on the one hand, and dependent on the king upon the other, could be trusted to settle the divorce question as the king desired. Upon this plan Henry proceeded, but not without frequent pauses, to give the Pope time to reflect upon the dangers he was running. For his separation from the Papacy was a matter of policy, not of conviction, and he would have avoided it at any cost short of the sacrifice of the divorce. As the Pope remained deaf both to Henry's threats and pleas, the anti-papal enactments succeeded each other without interruption, until every cable binding England to Rome had been slipped. Let us follow the leading steps in this procedure.

Destruction of the bonds between England and Rome.

The assembly of the English clergy is called Convocation. In 1531 Convocation was summoned and a decree wrested from the clergy, declaring Henry Head of the Church; owing, however, to the qualms expressed by many of the members the qualifying phrase was added, "as far as the law of Christ allows." The next year the king destroyed the legislative independence of the clergy by requiring them to permit him to revise their statutes and to adopt no new laws without his consent. By this means he had put the English clergy, so to speak, into his pocket. Now it remained only to repeal the laws by which Rome possessed a foothold in England. These laws being acts of Parliament could be repealed only by Parliament, which body Henry accordingly

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summoned, and by mingled threats and persuasion bent to his will. In 1532 Parliament abolished the payment to Rome of First Fruits, which were the first year's revenues of ecclesiastical benefices and constituted the chief income that the Pope drew from England. The next year followed the prohibition to appeal a case to any court outside the kingdom. This gave to the English ecclesiastical courts the right to pronounce, and pronounce finally, upon the king's suit. And now longer delay was neither necessary nor possible. In February, 1533, Cranmer, a creature of Henry's and half a Protestant at heart, was made archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England; and four months later he pronounced the desired sentence of divorce in his own court and sanctioned the coronation of Anne Boleyn as queen. When the Pope heard of these doings he at last recovered his power of unambiguous speech and fulminated at Henry a bull of excommunication (July, 1533). But Henry was now secure and could meet the Pope's wrath as an equal. In 1534 he had Parliament pass a culminating act, the Act of Supremacy, by which the last traces of connection with Rome were removed, and the king confirmed in the title already voted by the clergy of Supreme Head of the English Church, to which there was now attached no qualification whatever.

First Fruits.

Appeals to Rome prohibited.

Cranmer.

Anne Boleyn crowned queen.

The Act of Supremacy, 1534.

Thus while the English Church became national by being cut off from Rome, it also lost its independence and became subject to the state. Naturally there were many who regretted these changes. If they thoughtlessly crossed Henry's path they were not likely to escape with their lives. His marriage with Anne Boleyn, the Act of Supremacy, and all that hung thereby could only be criticised at the risk of death. When Sir Thomas More, the humanist, although he had been Henry's chancellor, and was the most famous Englishman alive, refused to take the oath involving acquiescence

Henry suppresses opposition.

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in these high-handed measures, he was convicted of treason and hurried to the block (1535).

Henry makes Protestant concessions.

From the first it was an interesting question how far Henry would depart from the accepted Catholic system and approach the Protestant position. In his own heart and mind he was as much a Catholic before as after the separation. The sole distinction between Henry then and Henry now was that he had taken, as regards England, the Pope's place at the head of the Church. But to a certain extent he could not fail to be influenced by the Protestant Reformation, for the Pope and the Roman Catholic world had solemnly repudiated him, and he was just then under the influence of a counsellor, Thomas Cromwell by name, who entertained secret Lutheran sympathies. A number of minor changes were therefore carried through. Every church was ordered to provide itself with an English Bible for general use, Indulgences were condemned, pilgrimages forbidden, and a few miraculous images destroyed. But the only incisive innovation was the suppression of the monasteries.

The suppression of the monasteries.

We have seen on several occasions that monasticism was the feature of the Church which chiefly invited the ridicule and criticism of the humanists. On this account wherever the Reformation was victorious monasticism was the institution which was first thrown overboard. Doubtless there was exaggeration in the tales of depravity circulated by such virulent enemies of the orders as Hutten and Erasmus; still, where there was so much smoke it is safe to assume there was some fire. Even under Wolsey, long before the policy of separation was entertained, a number of smaller institutions had been discontinued, and when Cromwell now suggested a plan of suppression on a much larger scale the king gave his consent, prompted in part, no doubt, by the immense material advantage which would accrue to the royal exchequer from the confiscation of the extensive

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monastic lands. So Cromwell, as a preliminary step, sent agents through the land to investigate the monastic houses. Their reports were steeped in gross exaggeration, but they served the purpose of the minister, for Cromwell presented them to Parliament, and influenced that body, outraged by the thought of so much wickedness, to adopt the desired legislation. In 1536 a bill was passed ordering the suppression of the lesser houses—the exact provision was of all houses of less than £200 revenue—but Henry and Cromwell managed to include the richer institutions as well by bringing pressure to bear upon the abbots. Before five years had rolled by, monasteries in England were a thing of the past, and the vast tracts which had fallen home to the king had been given to greedy courtiers, or sold to meet the royal necessities, or dedicated in a few honorable instances to the support of schools and churches.

The English people accept the royal policy.

The majority of the English people, as far as it is possible to ascertain their attitude toward the ecclesiastical revolution inaugurated by Henry, gave their hearty consent to the separation from Rome, for the Papacy had for some time past been growing in unpopularity; but though they indorsed the Act of Supremacy, they were, like Henry, thoroughly conservative and Catholic in spirit. Apart from a small band of reformers, influenced from the Continent, they had no desire for any change in the familiar features of the Church. Therefore, the suppression of the monasteries caused much discontent, and in the backward northern counties, where attachment to tradition was particularly strong, led to a dangerous revolt, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536). Henry, as might be expected, put down the insurrection with vigor, but did not fail to read the lesson which it conveyed. From policy now as well as from conviction he refused to go farther along the path blazed by the Lutheran princes of Germany. For the rest of his life he

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Henry's doctrine remains Catholic.

was content to stand fast, force the acknowledgment of his supremacy upon his subjects, and keep the service and the doctrine of his Church free from the taint of Protestantism. From time to time, in order to remove all doubt, he informed his subjects what they were authorized to believe, and these various pronouncements contained very little to which a strict partisan of Rome might not have set his name. Thus

The Six Articles of 1539.

the confession of faith known as the Six Articles, which he had Parliament pass in 1539, upheld such Catholic doctrines as the sacrament of the Mass, auricular confession, and the celibacy of the clergy, and made diversity of opinion punishable with death. Under such a *régime* there was no peace in England either for supporters of the Pope or for adherents of Protestantism, and both these groups were vehemently persecuted. Cromwell himself, though his fall was coupled with other causes, could not be saved by a record of long and faithful service, when his secret support of the religious radicals came to the knowledge of the king. In 1540 he

Execution of Cromwell, 1540.

was charged with treason and beheaded. The only safety for Englishmen lay in the quiet acceptance of the system which their masterful sovereign had imposed, and which was substantially Catholic except for the separation from the venerable capital of Rome.

His six marriages.

A personal page in Henry's history demands at least passing recognition. It presents the story of his marriages. His native brute force, which served him well in politics by enabling him to impose his will triumphantly on his environment, stands out, in the tenderer associations of the family, in appalling nakedness. We have already followed the tragedy of Catharine of Aragon to the coronation of Anne Boleyn. Anne Boleyn gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth, and soon afterward was executed on the charge of unfaithfulness (1536). The next wife, Jane Seymour, died in childbed, leaving a son, Edward. The fourth wife, a German

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princess, Anne of Cleves, did not suit Henry at all, and was married only to be immediately divorced (1540). As the fifth wife, Catharine Howard, proved untrue, she was beheaded (1542), and so room was made for a sixth, Catharine Parr, who managed, by dutiful submission, to outlive her royal consort.

Henry died in 1547. Before his death he had been granted by Parliament the right to regulate the succession by will. Accordingly, he devised his crown to his son Edward, with the provision that it pass, on the failure of Edward's blood, to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, in the order named. As Edward was but a boy nine years old, his father provided further, during his son's minority, a council of regency, at the head of which he put Edward's maternal uncle, the duke of Somerset.

The succession.

Edward VI. (1547–53).

Henry was hardly dead when the council of regency met, and without regard to Henry's wishes practically resigned its powers to Somerset, who was authorized to assume the title of protector. This measure was of decided consequence because Somerset was a man of unusual religious tolerance and was well inclined toward the reforming party. As a majority in the council held similar opinions, Somerset had no difficulty in inaugurating an era of Protestant legislation, especially as he was heartily seconded in his policy by Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury. We have herewith touched upon the real significance of the rule of the protector. The English Church, which Henry had zealously protected from theological innovations, was now for the first time launched upon Protestant waters.

The Protector Somerset pursues a Protestant policy.

If we admit that it was probably impossible to keep the English Church, after its initial breach with the Catholic world, exactly where Henry left it, we shall incline to defend

Protestant changes.

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Somerset against the charge of precipitate change which is frequently made against him. Convinced that a reform could not be staved off, he resolved to swing wide the door to Protestant influence. English was gradually substituted for Latin in the services, priests were allowed to marry, the use of holy water was discontinued, and all images were removed from the churches. Finally, to lend dignity to the conduct of the new services in English, there was published in 1549 the First Book of Common Prayer, which vindicates the essential conservatism of Somerset's revolution, for Archbishop Cranmer, who is mainly responsible for it, based it largely upon the ancient Catholic breviaries.

The First Book of Common Prayer, 1549.

The agrarian revolution.

But Somerset's fall was at hand. Not because of discontent caused by these religious innovations, at least not in a marked degree, but owing primarily to prolonged economic misery, the peasantry of England rose in the summer of 1549 and threatened civil war. The troubles among the English peasants, who were freemen, bore little resemblance to the situation which provoked the German peasants, held in galling serfdom, to wage the bloody war of 1525. The main complaint of the English peasants was directed against what were called enclosures. The great English landlords had discovered that their returns were larger from sheep-herding than agriculture, owing to the steady demand for wool in the markets of the Netherlands. They therefore, by letting their lands run to pasture and enclosing them, with perhaps the addition of the common lands of which the whole village had once had the use, threw hundreds of peasants out of work and occasioned great misery. This conversion of agricultural land to pasture had been going on for decades, and many were the laws by which the government had tried to put a stop to it. But economic causes, operating like forces of nature, are stronger than legislation, and the peasants were not relieved. When in 1549 they rose, Somerset, who

Enclosures.

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had a heart that beat for the oppressed, did not hesitate to declare his sympathy with them. The rest of the council, members to a man of the landlord class, waited until the army of the government had scattered the insurgent hosts and then proceeded to rid themselves of the traitor in their midst. In October Somerset was arrested and deposed, and although he was allowed to live for a while, his opponents did not feel perfectly secure until his head had been severed from his body. He was executed in 1552.

The fall of Somerset, 1549.

The leader of the landlord party in the council which had caused the overthrow of the protector was Warwick, created afterward duke of Northumberland. He became Somerset's successor as real governor of the kingdom, without, however, assuming the title of protector. He was a clever, unscrupulous, ambitious man, who, although he had no particular religious convictions, became loud in his profession of the Protestant faith when he discovered that a majority of his colleagues were in favor of it. He not only adopted Somerset's programme, but multiplied and sharpened its measures. Now first occurred violent scenes of iconoclasm in England, when the people, incited by the so-called "hot gospellers," entered the churches and indiscriminately broke altars, statuary, and stained-glass windows. Now, too, came persecution of orthodox Catholics, although the government never entirely lost the tolerant quality impressed upon it by Somerset. In 1552 there was issued the Second Book of Common Prayer, which was again largely the work of Cranmer, and differed from the earlier edition in the more Protestant turn given to many of its passages. The Forty-two Articles of Religion—a new confession of faith—followed, and therewith the reconstruction of Henry's national Church on Protestant lines was completed. An Act of Uniformity imposed the reformed Church upon the nation.

Northumberland in control.

Radical Protestantism.

Protestant service book and creed.

The Protestant revolution of Edward's reign was, as

The boy king.

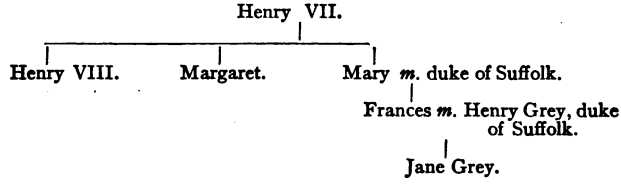
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we have seen, the work of Somerset and Northumberland. Nevertheless, the king, who was, as is frequently the case with feeble children, a boy of remarkable precocity, followed the religious changes with intense sympathy. When he was twelve years old the German reformer Bucer wrote of him: "No study enjoys his favor as much as the Bible." His favorite diversion was a theological discussion, which he would follow with a countenance whence every touch of childish grace had been banished by an unnatural austerity.

Edward changes the law of succession.

Such a boy was only too likely to exhaust in a very few years his low measure of vitality. Early in 1553 Northumberland perceived that Edward was dying. By Henry's will the succession would now fall to Mary, who, like her Spanish mother Catharine, was a devout Catholic. Northumberland and the governing clique, with their Protestant record, had everything to fear from her, and in order to secure himself and them he played upon the young king's Protestant conscience with such skill that he persuaded him to devise his crown away from his sisters Mary and Elizabeth upon his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, who could trace her lineage back to Henry VII.[1] In Northumberland's eyes Lady Jane not only had the advantage of being a Protestant, who would presumably sympathize with his religious measures, but as he had lately married her to one of his own sons, Guilford Dudley, he might hope through these young and inexperienced people to perpetuate his power. It was a base and despicable intrigue without a vestige of legality. For Hen-

[1] Genealogy of Lady Jane Grey.



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ry's arrangement of the succession by will was in accordance with an express permission granted by Parliament, but Edward, having been accorded no such power, signed an utterly worthless document. Northumberland was still completing the arrangements for his plot when, on July 6, 1553, Edward breathed his last.

Mary (1553–58).

Public sentiment declares for Mary.

Edward had hardly expired when Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane Grey. But if he had any hope of carrying his candidate, he was soon disillusioned. The mass of the people saw through his selfish intrigue and rallied around Mary, their lawful sovereign. They hailed Mary gladly, because not only their sense of justice, but also their religious prejudices designated her as their queen. For the majority of the people were still Catholic in sentiment, and the radical Protestantism of Northumberland had aroused their animosity. From Mary they expected the return of the Mass and other familiar Catholic usages from which they were not yet weaned in their hearts.

Downfall of Northumberland and Lady Jane Grey.

The Lady Jane Grey was, in consequence of this unhesitating devotion of the English people to their rightful sovereign, crowned only to be deposed again. Northumberland, deserted by his followers, gave himself up and was beheaded. His fate was just, but unfortunately Jane Grey, who was merely the tool of an ambitious man, paid the same penalty. It is true Queen Mary felt compassion for her and delayed the execution, but a rebellion of the following year exasperated her to such a degree that she gave her consent to her young cousin's death. The gentle and refined young girl, queen of England for nine agitated days, has always excited a pathetic interest. The great public stage on which she died was not her choice; a quiet country seat, where her bright nature might have shone

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among a circle of friends and scholars, would have suited her better. Therefore, she called the day on which she gave back her crown to the commissioners who arrested her, the happiest day of her life.

Mary plans a full Catholic restoration.

It seems likely that if Mary had adopted a moderate Catholic policy, taking her stand upon the platform of her father, Henry, her reign would have met the wishes of her people. But Mary had nothing about her suggesting compromise. Her Spanish blood called upon her to be faithful, above all things, to her faith. She therefore planned nothing less than a return of England to the Pope's fold—a full Catholic restoration. And that was a delusion. For however the English people were attached to Catholic practices, the Act of Supremacy, proclaiming the English independence of Rome, had the full consent of the nation.

The Act of Supremacy abolished.

The first acts of Mary's reign left no doubt about her policy. The Parliament, obedient to a word from the throne, rescinded the religious legislation of Edward and brought the Church back to the condition in which it was at Henry's death. The Mass was again celebrated in the Latin language, altars were set up, and the married clergy were expelled from their livings. So much was acceptable to the nation. But doubtful and impolitic measures soon followed. Urged on and exhorted by Mary, the Parliament abolished all the legislation of Henry's reign pertaining to the Pope, and then voted the return of England to the papal obedience.

Cardinal Pole receives the nation into the Catholic fold, 1554.

To crown her policy of reconciliation, Cardinal Pole arrived in England as the legate of the Pope, and in November, 1554, in a pompous ceremony, extended absolution to the nation and received it back into the papal fold. But even so, England had not yet been carried back to the point where it was when Henry began his memorable conflict. There were still the alienated monastic lands. Mary in her honest zeal would have restored them to their owners, but here the

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Parliament, which was made up largely of landholders who had profited by the spoliation of the Church, showed itself intractable.

Mary marries Philip of Spain, 1554.

If the uncompromising Catholic policy of Mary alienated many sympathizers, she hurt herself still more in popular estimation when she rejected marriage with one of her own countrymen and accepted the proffered hand of her kinsman Philip, son and heir of Charles V. Such a union could not but inspire vague fears of a foreign domination, and although every provision was made in the marriage contract to insure the independence of England, the country was, nevertheless, unavoidably drawn into the Spanish system. In the summer of 1554 the marriage was celebrated, and although Philip proved himself afterward to be a cold and bigoted Catholic, it must be set down to his credit that he comported himself during his occasional visits to England with much discretion.

The persecutions under Mary.

Although the religious persecutions which gave the finishing stroke to Mary's dying popularity, and won for her from Protestant writers the terrible title of "Bloody Mary," date from about the time of her marriage, they cannot be fairly ascribed to her Spanish consort. If Mary persecuted, the incentive was chiefly furnished by her own fiery enthusiasm. It was she who stimulated the Parliament to pass severe enactments against heresy, and it was she who urged the bishops to carry them out. Soon the prisons were filled with the Protestant leaders of Edward's time, and soon, too, the fires of persecution were lighted over the realm. It is the period of the Protestant martyrs. Some two hundred and eighty died by the fagot—a number inconsiderable compared with the slaughter in the Netherlands, but enough to rack the nerves of a race whose wavering attitude led them to favor a more gentle procedure. The stanchness of the victims in death contributed more toward establishing Protestantism than could have been done by the doctrinal

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fervor of an army of Calvinistic preachers. It was even as Bishop Latimer said to Bishop Ridley at the stake: "Master Ridley, play the man; we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out." For the stout part they played, Latimer and Ridley head the Protestant martyrology. But the persecution struck a more prominent, if not a more noble victim than these, in the person of the deposed archbishop of Canterbury. This was the celebrated Cranmer, who had served under two kings. Cranmer, who was a peculiar mixture of strength and weakness, flinched when the trial came and denied his faith. But in the face of death his courage came back to him. He thrust his right hand into the flame, and steadying it there said, resolutely: "This is the hand that wrote the recantation; therefore, it first shall suffer punishment."

Her unpopularity.

If Edward's violent Protestantism made his reign detested, Mary's violent Catholicism produced the same result. The hatred of her subjects soon pursued her even into her palace. She was a quiet, tender woman, whose intolerance was more the crime of the age than her own, and the harvest of aversion which was springing up about her was more than she could bear. Besides, her marriage was unfortunate. She loved Philip, but Philip cared little for her, and did not much trouble to hide his indifference to the sickly and ill-favored woman, twelve years older than himself. To crown her misfortunes, she allowed her Spanish husband to draw her into a war with France, in which Philip won all the honor, and Mary suffered all the disgrace by the loss of the last point which remained to England from her former possessions in France, Calais (1558). Doubtless the loss of Calais was for England a benefit in disguise; she was thereby cut off from the Continent and directed to her true sphere, the sea. But to the Englishmen of that day the capture seemed an insufferable dishonor. No one felt

She is drawn into war and loses Calais.

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it more keenly than Mary. "When I die," she is reported to have said shortly before her death (November, 1558), "Calais will be found written on my heart."

Elizabeth (1558–1603).

The glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Elizabeth, Anne Boleyn's daughter and Mary's younger half-sister, succeeded to the throne on Mary's death, and inaugurated a reign which proved to be one of the most glorious in English annals. Under her, Protestantism was firmly established in England, the great Catholic sea-power, Spain, was challenged and defeated, and English life flowered in the poetry of Shakespeare and his contemporaries more exuberantly and more exquisitely than ever before or since. To the national greatness to which England suddenly raised herself in the sixteenth century, Elizabeth has lent her name. She appeared to the English people, and still appears, mirrored in a great time, and their generous loyalty, which gave her in her lifetime the title of Good Queen Bess, has also encouraged them in the view that she was the fountain and the summary of all the virtues which throve in her day. Modern historians have scattered this delusion. They have separated the woman from her time, and it is a very different Elizabeth who appears to the eye now that the curtain of the myths which concealed her from view has been withdrawn.

Elizabeth as a woman.

Elizabeth had few of the graces of womanhood and many of its weaknesses. Her vanity was so great that, although she was a very plain-featured woman, she succeeded in conceiving herself as a beauty of a particularly rare type. She could not live without flattery and flirtations, and accepting the compliments of the courtiers for true coin, allowed herself to be persuaded to dance and sing in her maladroit manner before a brilliant court of gentlemen and ladies, who could hardly hide their amusement behind their handkerchiefs. Her manners were rude, especially at the council board,

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and her ministers were frequently annihilated by language which would have done honor to the camp and the fish-market.

Elizabeth as a statesman.

If Elizabeth lacked many of the special graces and virtues of her sex, she certainly possessed what are generally known as masculine talents, for she had an inflexible will and an exceptional intelligence. Above all, she loved her people and identified herself with them. All her statesmanship and all our praise can be expressed in the single sentence that she was a national sovereign.

Elizabeth's religion.

But one of the qualities by which she rendered England a great service her contemporaries would have been quick to condemn if they had been more clearly informed about it: she was lukewarm in matters of faith. However such want of conviction may be regarded in the case of a private individual, in the England of that day, shaken by religious passions, the sovereign's indifference was an undisguised blessing to the commonwealth. By reason of it Elizabeth was delivered from the destructive religious radicalism of both Edward and Mary, and being relatively disinterested was peculiarly fitted to play her royal part of mediator between antagonistic faiths. We should remember that the sixteenth century was the century not only of the Reformation, but also of the Renaissance. Elizabeth had been brought up to read Latin and Greek, and was not unacquainted with the languages and the literatures of the Continent. It is, therefore, not so very strange that, like Shakespeare, Jonson, and the poets of her time generally, she gave more heed to the voices coming from Italy than to the messages of Luther and of Calvin.

The Privy Council.

The chief organ of Elizabeth's government was the Privy Council, a sort of cabinet, the advice of which she regularly heard before she arrived at a decision. In this body was gathered the best political talent which the country boasted.

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It is no small credit to Elizabeth to have exhibited such discernment in the choice of her ministers. Most prominent among them was William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who devoted a life of exemplary patriotism to the advancement of English Protestantism and the English sea-power.

The position of Parliament.

Though Elizabeth was willing to consult in her affairs the Privy Council, which was a body of her own choice, she was not inclined to grant much political influence to Parliament, which was elected by the people. Parliament remained, therefore, what it had been under the other Tudors, an obedient recorder of the royal will. Thus the sovereignty of England was practically concentrated in Elizabeth's hands.

Elizabeth inclines to religious moderation.

The first question of Elizabeth's reign was the question of the Reformation. Edward had followed a policy of radical Protestantism and had failed; Mary had followed a policy of radical Catholicism and had failed; after these two experiments it was plain that extremes would have to be abandoned. Elizabeth showed her sound judgment by deliberately taking up a moderate policy. When her first Parliament assembled in 1559 she had it pass again an Act of Supremacy, asserting the English independence of Rome and declaring the sovereign the highest authority in the realm in religious as well as in civil matters; and also an Act of Uniformity, which imposed upon every minister the forms of worship laid down in a new Book of Common Prayer. The new book was nothing but the second Prayer-Book (1552) of Edward's reign, with some few revisions. The plan was to make the national Church thus reëstablished as broad as possible, in order that the moderates of all parties might be embraced by it. Such was Elizabeth's moderation that it even bred fond hopes in the Pope's breast, but after waiting for ten years for her to return to the fold, he lost patience and issued a bull excommunicating and deposing her (1570).

The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.

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From that moment Elizabeth was definitely pledged to the Protestant cause and was forced into active hostility against Catholicism. Stringent measures were passed against the adherents of the Pope, but never in blind passion without recognition of varying degrees of culpability. Catholics who refused to attend service in the new Church were simply visited with money fines, while heavier fines, culminating in imprisonment, were inflicted for saying or attending Mass. Fanatic Catholics, whose enthusiasm led them to go further and to engage in political plots, were repressed by special treason bills, which authorized the seizure and execution of conspirators, but which were sufficiently elastic to strike down any inconvenient Catholic zealot. Under these various laws a considerable number of Catholics were put to death, and all of them, by the system of fines, were gravely molested; but compared with the contemporary persecutions in Spain, France, and the Netherlands, Elizabeth's methods have an unmistakable imprint of moderation.

Her persecution political rather than religious.

A church on these broad foundations met the wishes of the majority of Englishmen. They gave it their adherence in increasing numbers, accepted its form and government, and gradually forgot the Latin Mass. Elizabeth could, therefore, proceeding in her deliberate manner, gradually complete its structure by new legislation. The most important of the complementary acts is the publication of a confession of faith under the name of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion (1563). These, too, like the Book of Common Prayer, were based upon the enactments of Edward's time, and were steeped in the Protestant spirit. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-nine Articles are still in our own day the essential features of the Anglican or English National Church, which may, therefore, claim Elizabeth much more truly than Henry as its founder.

Elizabeth is the real founder of the Anglican Church.

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The Puritans.

Throughout Elizabeth's reign the Roman Catholics decreased in numbers. But as they diminished, there rose into prominence another body of religious opponents, Protestant radicals, who were dissatisfied with what they called Elizabeth's half-measures, and clamored for a thorough Protestant revolution. These radicals, it soon developed, were of two kinds, Puritans and Separatists. The Puritans were the more moderate opponents, who, while accepting the national Church and attending its services, hoped to eliminate from it certain features like the elaborate vestments of the clergy, which they despised as "Romish" trappings. Their demand for what they called a purer worship won them as a nickname, in the first instance, the party designation of Puritans. The Separatists, on the other hand (also called Brownists, after their founder Robert Brown), were radicals of the most thorough-going sort. The national Church with its bishops, its surplices, its ceremonies, was hardly better to them than the Roman Church, and they refused to attend it. As their propaganda spread, they were sharply persecuted, while the Puritans, who in the main yielded obedience and worshipped as demanded by the law, were left comparatively undisturbed.

The Separatists.

Caution the chief note of Elizabeth's policy.

On turning to the political developments of Elizabeth's reign we are immediately struck by the fact that they are intimately associated with her religious policy. We have seen that her plan was to move cautiously, to give as little offence as possible. In consequence, she remained for a surprisingly long time on reasonably good terms with both the Pope and Philip of Spain. But as her Protestant policy took a more definite shape, a coolness sprang up which the bull of excommunication of 1570 converted into open hostility. Turn as Elizabeth would in her shifty manner, there was now no way by which she could avoid being identified with the Protestant cause. The Catholic reaction

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on the Continent was growing stronger every day, more aggressively set on winning back its lost ground, and unless the Protestants closed their ranks in their turn, it was only too likely that their forces would be broken and routed.

She is driven into war with Spain.

The great fact in the second half of the sixteenth century is the world-war between Catholicism and Protestantism, in which Philip of Spain stepped forward as the champion of Rome, and Elizabeth, almost against her will, became the paladin of the newer faith.

The affairs of Scotland.

Every event in Elizabeth's reign contributed to precipitate the struggle; notably the queen's relations with Scotland and Scotland's sovereign, Mary Stuart. Scotland had been England's foe for centuries. We have seen that Henry VII., with a view to the better understanding and possible union of the two countries, had married his daughter Margaret to James IV. But war was not thereby averted. James IV. and James V. both sympathized with France and both died while fighting England, the latter (1542) when his successor, Mary, was but a few days old. Mary Stuart's descent from Henry VII. and the prospective failure of Henry VIII.'s direct descendants opened for the child the prospect of the English succession. On the death of Mary Tudor (1558), there was, with the exception of Elizabeth, no other descendant of Henry VII. alive as prominent as she. To the Catholics, moreover, who saw in the daughter of Anne Boleyn merely an illegitimate child, she had even a better claim than Elizabeth. Out of this relation of the two women to the English throne sprang their instinctive aversion for each other, and the long and bloody drama of their rivalry, ending in Mary's death upon the scaffold.

Queen Mary sent to France when a child.

When Mary succeeded to the throne of Scotland, she was, as has been said, a child in arms. Her mother, another Mary, of the French family of Guise, assumed the regency, and in order to withdraw her child from possible English

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influences sent her over to France, where she was soon betrothed to the heir of the throne, the dauphin.[1] Thus in the face of the Tudor policy of reconciliation the interests of France and Scotland were newly knit to the detriment of England.

The Protestant movement in Scotland.

Mary of Guise soon met with the same difficulties which beset every government in her time. Toward the middle of the century the voices of the Reformation began to be heard in the land. Conversions grew apace, and presently the struggle between the old and the new faiths began with customary vehemence. But nowhere was it so brief and nowhere was the victory of the new teachings so decisive. Scotland was still a backward, feudal land, where the chief power rested with a lawless nobility. The clergy, too, had considerable wealth and power, but their religious indifference and luxurious living had weaned from them the affections of the people. On this account the hold of the Catholic Church on Scotland had become so slight that the fiery Calvinistic preachers, among whom John Knox (1505–72) was the leading spirit, had only to proclaim the new faith to have it accepted by the people. When the nobility, lured by the bait of the rich Church lands, threw in their lot with the preachers, the success of the Reformation in Scotland was assured.

The regent calls in the French to put down Protestantism.

The French gentlewoman who held the regency of Scotland viewed these developments with consternation. She had lost her hold on the country and could think of no other way of getting it back than by the aid of French troops. At her request France sent soldiers, who had put themselves in possession of a number of important places, and were on the road to repressing the Protestant movement altogether, at

[1] The heir to the French throne received the title of dauphin in the Middle Ages. The title is derived from the province of Dauphiny. A similar custom accorded to the oldest son of the English king the title of prince of Wales.

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the moment when Elizabeth had given a Protestant turn to English affairs by establishing her national Church. The wisdom of aiding the Scotch Protestants was so obvious that Elizabeth resolved to send men and ships to the north. These forces succeeded in bringing the French to terms, and by the treaty of Edinburgh (1560) the latter agreed to abandon Scotland. As the regent at this juncture fell ill and died, and as Queen Mary was still in France, the Protestant lords suddenly found themselves masters of the situation. In a Parliament composed of the friends of Knox they abolished the papal supremacy, forbade the Mass, and laid the foundations of a new Church of their own (1560).

Establishment of the Kirk of Scotland, 1560.

The Church that thus sprang into existence a year after Elizabeth's Anglican establishment took form was based, like its southern neighbor, on the Protestant principle of independence of Rome, but resembled it in very few other respects. Knox, its organizing genius, had sat at the feet of Calvin at Geneva, and was resolved to model it, as nearly as possible, according to Calvin's theory of church organization. By Calvin's system each congregation governed itself democratically, that is, was ruled by the pastor in connection with elected laymen called presbyters or elders; while the Church, being the sum of all the congregations, was subjected to a general assembly. These features of government, together with improvements and modifications suggested by the peculiar condition of the country, were imposed upon the new institution. Its doctrine and worship were borrowed from the same Genevan source, and thus equipped there emerged a new Protestant Church, known as the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland.

Calvinism dominates the government, doctrines, and service of the new Church.

Up to this time the absent Queen Mary had not concerned herself much with the doings of rude and far-away Scotland. Her husband, Francis II., had lately (1559) become king of France, and ever since the death of Mary

Mary returns to Scotland, 1561.

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Tudor (1558) she had, supported by a good part of the Catholic world, looked upon herself as queen, too, of England. But the year 1560 disturbed her outlook greatly. Her feeble husband, Francis II., died, and Elizabeth made herself tolerably secure at home. Scotland alone seemed to be left to Mary, and as Scotland needed its sovereign, she suddenly (1561) hurried thither.

Her difficulties.

When Mary landed in Scotland she was only nineteen years old and no better than a stranger. Add to this fact the circumstance that she was confronted by a lawless nobility, and, as a Catholic, was an object of suspicion to her Protestant subjects, and one has the elements of a problem that even a better and wiser person than Mary might not have solved.

The character of Mary.

But though Mary proved inadequate, she was a woman of many admirable gifts. Grace of figure and grace of spirit were added to a nimble wit and a keen intelligence. The chance that tossed her to France, furnished her with a rare opportunity for development, for the court of the Valois had become the home of all the exquisite influences of the Renaissance, and the people she met there, the very air she breathed, tingled with the joy of living. She soon became the ruling genius of a bright circle, and the hours revolved for her amid dancing, music, and poetry. Her contemporaries never tired of praising her beauty; but better than formal beauty, she possessed a subtle charm which appealed to the chivalry of men, and raises partisans for her even in our day. Thus endowed, she was called to be a great queen, on one condition: she must subordinate her passions to her duty as a sovereign. But here it was that she failed. Her cousin Elizabeth, who did not fail in this particular, proved herself thereby, if not the better woman, at least the greater queen. Comparing the two cousins, who inevitably force a comparison upon us, stand-

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ing as they do in history flashing challenge at each other, we are reminded of the familiar judgment: Elizabeth was first statesman and then woman, Mary was first woman and then statesman.

Mary marries Lord Darnley.

Mary began well enough. She made no difficulties about the Presbyterian Kirk and only reserved to herself the right of Catholic worship. For four years Scotland enjoyed an unusual degree of peace. But in the year 1565 Mary married her cousin, Lord Darnley, and by that event she and all Scotland were plunged into troubles involving a succession of climaxes unique in history.

The murder of Rizzio and Darnley.

Lord Darnley, who was hardly more than a boy, turned out to be proud, silly, and dissolute. He was no sooner married than he became the tool of the party of nobles opposed to Mary. They represented to him that if he did not enjoy full authority with the queen, it was due to one of Mary's foreign secretaries, an Italian, David Rizzio. Darnley, egged on by the nobles, resolved to have revenge. One night while Mary was sitting at supper, the conspirators burst into the room, fell upon Rizzio, and in spite of the queen's effort to save him dragged him from the chamber and slew him at the door (1566). Much of what followed is uncertain. Certain it is that Mary's love for her husband was henceforth turned to hate. She planned revenge. For the present Darnley and his party held the reins in their hands and she was forced to resort to dissimulation. By cleverly feigning affection, she brought her husband to his knees before her, separated him from her enemies, and quickly reacquired control. Henceforth she took few pains to hide her loathing for the wretched prince. In February, 1567, the house where Darnley was staying just outside the walls of Edinburgh was shattered by an explosion of gunpowder, and Darnley was found dead the next morning. We know beyond a doubt that the murderer was the earl of Bothwell,

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a dare-devil cavalier, who was in love with the queen, but we should also like to know whether or not the queen was his accomplice. Extended investigation has not yet supplied a definite answer, but by what followed the murder Mary has compromised her good name beyond help. Not only did she permit Bothwell's trial for the murder of her consort to degenerate into a mere farce, but shortly after his acquittal she married him.

The revolt against Mary.

The excuse was afterward put forward by Mary that in marrying Bothwell she had not consulted her free will, but had yielded to violence. The apology has little inherent probability and was rejected with scorn by her subjects. They revolted against her, and although with rare courage she rallied again and again from defeat, by the year 1568 she found herself without further resources. Despairing of success, she sought refuge in England. She would have done better to have sought it in the sea. She became Elizabeth's prisoner, and won her release only, after nineteen years, by laying her head upon the block.

James VI. king and Murray regent.

Before we take up Elizabeth's conduct, let us take note that tragic as Mary's fate was, her country profited by her downfall. Her infant son was crowned king as James VI., while her half-brother, Lord Murray, assumed the regency. Murray represented the Protestant party, and his rule meant religious peace for Scotland on the basis of the complete triumph of the Presbyterian Church.

Explanation of Elizabeth's severity with regard to Mary.

It is not difficult to account for the harsh policy which Elizabeth adopted toward her royal cousin. In fairness to her we must acknowledge that imperative considerations of state hardly left any other course open. Looking out from London over Europe she beheld a perplexing situation. She saw Philip II. in arms against the Netherlands, resolved, if necessary, to drown Protestantism in blood; in France she took note of a civil war, in which the Catholic party, in order

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to achieve its ends, did not balk at such revolting measures as the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; she was in frequent peril of her life through the plots of her own Catholic subjects, who aimed to be rid of her and raise Mary to the throne; and she saw, in general, a threatening concentration of the whole Catholic world for a supreme blow against the Protestant heresy.

Prospect of war between England and Spain.

Under these conditions her conduct could not but be regulated primarily with reference to the Catholic reaction now plainly mounting to a climax. By the beginning of the eighties, Philip, through his great general, Parma, had the revolt of the Netherlands reasonably well in hand, while through his association with the French Catholics he so dominated France as to be sure that that kingdom would not strike him in the rear. He could, therefore, concentrate his attention upon the dangerous and elusive Elizabeth. Luckily, at the approach of the great crisis, the temper of Englishmen was hardening to steel. In the consciousness of their power they even invited the threatening storm. Sir Francis Drake and a dozen other freebooters fell upon the Spaniards where they found them, plundered them on the Spanish main, and slaughtered them in their transatlantic settlements. While Philip and Elizabeth were still protesting friendship in official notes, their subjects had already engaged in combat on their own account. When at last, in 1585, the queen did not scruple to give open and armed aid to the revolted Netherlands, Philip declared that he was at the end of his patience. He prepared against England an unexampled armament.

Execution of Mary.

It was the rumor of Philip's invasion of England, coupled with the renewed activity of the English supporters of Mary, that cost the unfortunate queen of Scots her life. Probably it had little value for her and death was not unwelcome. She had grown old and gray behind prison walls; she knew her-

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self beaten. Elizabeth's ministers succeeded in proving that Mary was a party to a conspiracy which a man by the name of Babington had directed against the life of the sovereign, and persuaded the queen, who hypocritically feigned reluctance, to sign her cousin's death-warrant. The anxiety of the ministers becomes explicable when we reflect that if Catholic Mary ever succeeded to the English throne their lives were not worth a penny. In February, 1587, Mary was executed at Fotheringay.

The next year the war between Spain and England came to a head. Philip having at length got together over one hundred ships, known under the name of the Armada, despatched them toward the English coasts. The plan was that the Armada should sail first to the Netherlands and by putting itself at the disposal of the duke of Parma, who commanded the Spanish troops there, should enable that great captain to effect a landing in England. The island realm was thoroughly alive to its danger. In the face of the foreign invader all religious differences were forgotten and replaced by a flaming national enthusiasm, uniting all parties. In fact, the Armada may be called the death-blow of English Catholicism; for from now on, to be a Catholic meant to be a friend of the tyrant Philip, and but few Englishmen cared to expose themselves to such an imputation. A navy filled with the spirit which is ready to do and die was put at Elizabeth's disposal. With such leaders as Lord Howard, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Martin Frobisher, many of whom had spent a lifetime fighting the Spaniards on all known seas, the English were not likely to fail for want of bravery or skill. Nor were they likely to fail for want of the material means of protection. They mustered even more ships than the Spaniards, which, although not so large as the galleons of the enemy, by virtue of their speed, the size and number of their guns, and the perfect seamanship

The Armada. 1588.

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of their sailors held the Spaniards at their mercy. The Armada had hardly appeared, toward the end of July, 1588, off the west coast of England before the more rapid English vessels darted in upon their rear and flank. The damage which was done the Spaniards during a running sea-fight in the Channel, lasting eight days, forced them to lie off Calais for repairs. Here a number of fire-ships sent among them drove them from their shelter into the waiting English fleet, and in the ensuing combat they were discomfited so completely that their admiral gave up the enterprise. Finding the Channel blocked behind him, he tried to make for home by the coast of Scotland. But he encountered heavy storms, even more terrible enemies than the English, the Spanish ships were shattered miserably by waves and rocks, and only a remnant ever returned to Cadiz to tell the tale of the disaster.

The tables are turned.

England was safe, and more than England, the cause of Protestantism in the Netherlands and the world over. The English admirals now transferred the scene of action to the Spanish coasts, and soon the disheartened Philip sued for a peace, which his triumphant foe would not allow.

Elizabeth's last years.

As for Elizabeth, the overthrow of the Spanish Armada was the climax of her brilliant reign. Henceforth her people identified her with the national triumph and worshipped her as the very spirit of England. But her private life slowly entered into eclipse. She was old, childless, and lonely. Her last sincere attachment, of which the earl of Essex was the object, brought her nothing but sorrow. Essex had been put at the head of an army destined to subdue Ireland, which was just then agitated by the famous rising of O'Neill, but as he mismanaged his campaign he had to be dismissed in disgrace. Full of resentment, he now engaged in a treasonable plot, but was discovered and executed (1601). It is hard to believe that a woman who all her life looked upon

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love and courtship as a pleasant recreation, should have really cared for the amiable earl; certain it is, however, that she went into a decline soon after his execution, and died, disgusted with the world (1603).

England adopts the sea.

England's wonderful and varied progress during this reign remains to be considered. In fact, the reign was the starting-point of a new development. For the first time Englishmen grew aware that their true realm was the sea. Courageous sailors like Drake, Davis, and Frobisher voyaged to the remotest lands, and though they established as yet no colonies, the idea of a colonial empire in the future was implanted in the minds of men and a sound beginning was made by the creation of commercial relations with various parts of the world. Before the death of Elizabeth, England, which had theretofore allowed Spain a monopoly of the sea, had fairly entered upon the path of oceanic expansion. The spread of the Anglo-Saxon race, one of the most significant events of Modern History, may, therefore, be dated from "the spacious times of great Elizabeth."

Social progress.

With the increase of commerce, there came an increase of industry and wealth and a more elevated plane of living, which showed itself in a greater luxury of dress, in a courtlier society, and in the freer patronage of the theatre and the arts. Altogether England was new-made. The Italian Renaissance poured out its cornucopia of gifts upon her, and there ensued such a heightening of all the faculties of man as makes this period one of the imposing epochs of history. The Englishman of Elizabeth's time broke away from the narrow mediæval traditions of thought and life, and became, like the Italian of the previous generation, entranced by the beauty of the world which spread out before him, waiting only to be conquered. It is such a man, exuberantly happy in the possession of himself and his environment, who produces a great art.

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Literature and science.

The great art by which Englishmen expressed their sense of this fresh and delightful contemporary life is the drama. Christopher Marlowe (d. 1593), Ben Jonson (d. 1637), and especially William Shakespeare (d. 1616), are its great luminaries. But the cognate fields of the mind were not left uncultivated. Edmund Spenser (d. 1599) wrote the great epic poem of the English tongue, the Faerie Queen, and Francis Bacon (d. 1626), the philosopher, by abandoning the barren mediæval methods of classification and by referring man directly to observation and the evidence of his senses, paved the way for a more profitable and scientific study of nature.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS AND TRIUMPH OF THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES (1566–1648)

REFERENCES: JOHNSON, Europe in the Sixteenth Century, Chapter VIII.; MOTLEY, Rise of the Dutch Republic, History of the United Netherlands, John of Barneveld; HARRISON, William the Silent; PUTNAM, William the Silent; CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, Vol. III., Chapters VI., VII., XIX.

SOURCE READINGS: Old South Leaflets, No. 72 (The Dutch Declaration of Independence in 1581).

The Netherlands under the Burgundian princes.

THE part of Europe which has been designated from of old as the Netherlands, or Low Countries, is embraced approximately by modern Holland and Belgium. In the Middle Ages the Netherlands consisted of a number of feudal principalities or provinces, constituted as duchies, counties, or lordships (for instance, the duchy of Brabant, the county of Flanders, the county of Holland), all of which were practically independent of all foreign powers and of each other, although there was not one to which France or Germany did not, by some unforgotten feudal right, have a claim. In the later Middle Ages a collateral branch of the House of France, starting with the duchy of Burgundy as a nucleus, had attempted to consolidate these provinces into a state which should be independent of both the western and the eastern neighbor, but just as the ambitious project seemed about to succeed, the family died out in the male branch with Charles the Bold (1477).

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The Netherlands under the Hapsburgs.

In spite of this calamity the political experiment of the Burgundian princes was partially successful. Louis XI. of France, on the death of his relative Charles the Bold, did indeed reincorporate the duchy of Burgundy with France, on the ground that it had fallen to him, its feudal overlord, but the Netherlands proper were left in the hands of Charles the Bold's daughter, Mary, and from her passed, through her marriage with the Emperor Maximilian, to the House of Hapsburg. In due time they became the possession of Maximilian's grandson, Charles V. Charles, having been born in the Netherlands in the city of Ghent, had a just appreciation of the value of this corner of his vast dominions, and, therefore, continued the efforts of his ancestors at consolidating its diverse territories. The provinces, seventeen in number, enjoyed considerable liberty. Each one practically ruled itself by means of a representative body, called the Provincial Estates, while the cities possessed charters of which they were intensely proud and which gave them the guarantee of an effective self-government. In a word, democracy was a power in the Netherlands. Although this condition of affairs excited the suspicion of Charles, he did not in the main interfere with it, but contented himself with pursuing a policy of centralization which, while establishing a healthy union, would put the provinces more under his hand. He created a number of executive and administrative councils at Brussels, designed to be the federal capital, and favored the national parliament, called the States-General, which consisted of delegates from the Provincial Estates and was endowed with the power of voting supplies to the sovereign. Thus, under Charles, the seventeen provinces made notable progress toward a better political union.

Charles follows a policy of centralization.

Race conditions in the seventeen provinces.

However, sooner or later an obstacle to a complete and perfect union was likely to be raised by the fact that the Netherlanders were racially not homogeneous. In some of

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the provinces, chiefly those of the south and west, French blood and speech prevailed, while in the north and east dwelt a people of Teutonic stock, who in Flanders and Brabant used a speech called Flemish, and farther to the north, in Holland and Zealand, spoke a very similar dialect called Dutch. In the Middle Ages differences of speech and blood were no reason for not associating several peoples together in a common state, and Charles and his ancestors cannot be blamed for the attempt; but the mere fact of the growth in modern times of race feeling was sure to make their project difficult, if not impossible.

Physical features; dykes and canals.

A good part of the land of the Low Countries is below the level of the sea, and has been won from that element only in undaunted, century-long struggles by means of a system of dykes, which form the rampart of the land against the hungry water. An equally great danger lay in the periodical inundations of the great rivers, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, which converge upon the sea at this point. To carry off their overflow, there was devised and gradually completed a system of canals which cover the country like a net and distribute the water from the rivers over a vast area. The plentiful water-ways of Holland and Belgium, although due in the first instance to necessity, have proved a pure blessing. They have given the country the greenest and the richest meadows of Europe, and besides furnish thoroughfares for traffic which are cheap, durable, and, winding under avenues of ancient trees, exceedingly picturesque.

The advance of commerce and intelligence.

The original inhabitants of the Netherlands were farmers, herdsmen, and fishermen. Commerce and industry, gaining a foothold gradually, created cities which, as has been already indicated, wrung liberal charters from their feudal lords, acquired a substantial burgher freedom, and aided by their situation, favorable to a world-wide intercourse,

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presently eclipsed the other cities of the north. Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, Haarlem, and many other cities shared under the Burgundian princes in the extension of trade and industry, and raised their country, in point of material prosperity and of intellectual culture, to the first rank in northern Europe. During the long reign of Charles V. the activity of the inhabitants was spurred to its highest capacity, and the country advanced steadily in every department of civilization.

The religious policy of Charles.

The reign of Charles in the Netherlands, so successful in some respects, in one very important particular laid itself open to criticism. The religious agitation which troubled Germany was naturally disrespectful of landmarks, and at an early point in its history invaded the Low Countries. Charles, whose dependence upon the princes of the Diet forced him, as we have seen, to a dilatory policy in Germany, was not the man to hesitate where he had the power to act. In the Netherlands the Lutheran heresy was, therefore, met on its appearance by a relentless hostility, which waxed more and more fierce as Charles's reign proceeded. The Inquisition, with its bloody record of triumphs in Spain, not unnaturally appealed to the Spanish monarch as the best way of meeting heresy everywhere. Accordingly it was established in the Netherlands, special inquisitors being appointed for each of the seventeen provinces. The usual abominations now followed: confiscations, imprisonments, burnings at the stake became common occurrences. The edicts of Charles against heresy finally went so far as to pronounce the penalty of death against persons discovered to have in their possession suspected writings, as well as against persons who held secret prayer-meetings, or who ventured merely to discuss the Holy Scriptures. The Protestants in the Netherlands were long hardly more than a handful, but Charles's rigor did not exterminate them. In

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fact, their numbers swelled constantly. The persecution only served to illustrate once more the famous observation that there is no seed like martyr's blood. To the original Lutherans were soon added Anabaptists and other revolutionary sects, who found the intelligent and liberal society of the Netherlands a fertile soil for the propagation of their tenets, and from the middle of the century the faith of Calvin, destined to give the Protestantism of Holland its peculiar mould, found admission, by way of France, into all the leading cities. The Inquisition, therefore, gathered a rich harvest. Contemporary guesses placed the figure of its victims during Charles's reign at fifty thousand. This is doubtless an exaggeration, but it is sufficiently correct to establish that monarch's partial guilt in the great tragedy which followed. But as Charles was well loved in the Netherlands, and his reign was in other respects happy, there occurred during his life no important outbreak against his system.

The abdication of Charles in 1555.

In the year 1554, broken by his recent failure in Germany, Charles proceeded to carry out his long-nursed plan of resigning his various sovereignties into the hands of his son and heir, Philip. He began by investing him with the kingdom of Naples. In the year 1555 he followed with the Netherlands. He summoned the States-General to Brussels, and amid the pomp and circumstance which his great position entailed, the transfer was effected. It is a notable stroke of historical irony that on that splendid occasion the aging emperor appeared leaning for support on the arm of a young noble who, though thus designated as the favorite of the old ruler, was destined to prove the most relentless enemy of the new. The young man was William of Orange.

Increasing persecution under Philip.

The harsh, cold mind of Philip II. was even less adapted than his father's to solve the religious troubles of the Netherlands. Like his father, his one notion of healing

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heresy was to extirpate it, root and branch. The Inquisition was spurred on to greater activity, until the fagot piles were heaped in every hamlet. Philip himself remained in the Netherlands to watch over the execution of his orders, while terror began to steal, like a spectre, into every household. The majority of the people, though still Catholic, were filled with a profound aversion to the senseless policy of the inquisitors, and a growing discontent, boding a storm, settled upon all classes.

The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, 1559.

But there was other work in the world for Philip besides persecuting the Flemish and Dutch Protestants. In order finally to have his hands free he wished to close, by a decisive stroke, his father's long wars with France. He therefore prepared for a vigorous campaign. It will be remembered that in 1554 he had married Queen Mary of England, thereby securing himself a valuable ally. Having twice defeated the French, at St. Quentin (1557) and at Gravelines (1558), and having in consequence disposed them to a settlement, he refused to concern himself further about allied England, and concluded with France the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559). England paid for the assistance she had rendered Spain by the loss of Calais; but Philip got what he wanted. The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis closed for the present the long rivalry of France and Spain, secured to Philip his possession of the Netherlands and Italy, and was the substantial admission of his supremacy in Europe. Now, at last, he resolved to go to Spain. Leaving his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, as regent in the Netherlands, he sailed away (1559), never to return.

The growing discontent.

His departure hurried the threatening crisis. The government had been intrusted to Margaret, as regent, and to a council, composed chiefly of Philip's creatures. It is plain that if the master had encountered opposition, the same measures applied by his representatives were bound

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to arouse furious resentment. Moreover, the government, far from taking any trouble to attach the people to itself, seemed rather to make a business of alienating every class. The nobles, whom Charles had wisely given employment in the administration and army, found themselves supplanted by Philip's favorites, many of them foreigners. Naturally, their grievances brought them more closely together, and the most powerful, such as Prince William of Orange and the Counts Egmont and Horn, became the leaders of the opposition. The burghers had even a longer list of complaints than the nobles. They were excited by the quartering on their towns of Spanish troops against the express terms of their charters; they complained of the multiplication of bishoprics, which they feared would put them under the heels of the Church; and, finally, they were insulted by the grievance, now a generation old and borne with less and less patience, of the Inquisition and its judicial murders. Discontent was plainly ripening to revolt.

The protest of the nobles, 1566.

The occasion for the rising was furnished by the lesser nobles, who were secretly encouraged, though not openly joined, by William of Orange. In 1565 they formed a league among themselves, the purpose of which was to secure the abolition of the Inquisition, operating, as they put it, "to the great dishonor of the name of God and to the total ruin of the Netherlands." In the same document in which they made this complaint they avowed their continued allegiance to the king. It was not the dynasty against which they protested, but the abuse which the dynasty upheld. On April 5, 1566, three hundred of their number proceeded to the palace of the regent at Brussels to lay a statement of their grievances in her hands. In spite of her rage at the impertinent demonstration, she commanded her tongue sufficiently to promise to present their case to the king. In a banquet held by the nobles in the evening they were in-

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formed that one of the hated brood of courtiers had slightingly referred to them as beggars (*gueux*). Amid a scene of frenzied excitement they adopted the term as their party name, and assumed as badges the beggar's wallet, staff, and wooden bowl.

The iconoclastic fury of 1566.

The courageous protest of the "beggars" against the Inquisition, followed by their open defiance of authority, thrilled the whole country. The government of the regent was set at naught under the impression that the auspicious moment was at hand for ridding the country of the monstrous incubus of the Inquisition. Its prisoners were forcibly released, and persecution interdicted, while the Protestants openly avowed their faith, and gathering in bands and multitudes listened with greedy ears to the revolutionary addresses of fanatic pastors. At length the excitement culminated in a furious revolt. The Catholic churches were invaded, their pictured windows, their saintly images were broken, their crosses and altars were shattered to fragments. The ruin of art wrought by these iconoclasts was incalculable. It was weeks before the fury spent itself, and months before the government, rallying the orderly elements about it, succeeded in repressing the insurgents. Philip had received his warning. Would he understand it?

The coming of Alva.

It is very possible that the abolition of the Inquisition, coupled with the proclamation of religious tolerance which public sentiment demanded, would have put an end to all trouble. But these ideas were foreign to the rulers of that day, and seemed nothing less than deadly sin to a fanatical Catholic like Philip. Instead of assisting the regent in restoring order and confidence, he planned a fearful vengeance. One of his best generals was the duke of Alva. Soldier and bigot, he was the typical Spaniard of the day, animated with blind devotion to his king and to his faith. This man of iron was commissioned with the punishment

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of the Netherlands, and in the summer of 1567 arrived at Brussels at the head of an excellent corps of 10,000 Spaniards. The Netherlands, it must be remembered, though they happened to have the same sovereign as Spain, were not a Spanish province. Alva's coming was, therefore, an invasion, and terror flew before him. Every thinking man foresaw a period of violence, and William of Orange, with a host of those who felt themselves compromised by the recent events, crossed the border into safety.

Council of Blood and Reign of Terror.

Alva did not long leave the anxious people in doubt as to the meaning of his coming. A council, infamous in history as the Council of Blood, was set up for the discovery of all those who had taken part in the late image-breaking and were suspected of disloyalty and heresy. It was a redoubled Inquisition, freed from the delays of law and the promptings of human pity. Hundreds and probably thousands died by sword and fire; tens of thousands from among the best of the land fled from the country. Among the more illustrious victims of the executioner were Egmont and Horn, whom neither their Catholic faith nor their services to the king could save. Paralyzed by the violence of the attack, the country meekly suffered the unheard-of persecution.

William of Orange, called the Silent.

In these difficulties the first help came from William of Orange. William belonged to an ancient German family, which had its seat in Nassau in western Germany. At an early age he had inherited from a cousin the tiny principality of Orange on the Rhone, which he never thought it worth while even to visit. However, he took his title from this French possession. His connection with the Netherlands sprung from the fact that he was possessed of large estates there, chiefly in Holland and Brabant, and was employed by his early patron, the Emperor Charles V., in the service of the provinces. Beginning with a secret, intriguing oppo-

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sition to the tyrannical policy of Philip, he identified himself more and more frankly with the cause of liberty, until on the coming of Alva he inaugurated a career which led to the liberation of his adopted country and has made him one of the heroes of humanity. He was but a mediocre general; his fame does not even rest upon his statesmanship, though in this respect he was the equal of the subtlest diplomats of his day. His chief title to distinction is his stout, courageous heart. Frequently almost single-handed, and at best with only the divided support of his little people, he braved the world power of Spain, and through defeat piled on defeat held out in his resolution. He became known as William the Silent, not without a touch of inconsistency, for he was famed for his eloquence and was the most courteous of gentlemen; but if the epithet conveys the impression of a fortitude unwearied and uncomplaining, no more appropriate title could have been bestowed on him.

William levies war upon Philip, 1568.

In the spring of 1568 William, having turned all his available possessions into money, and having summoned the most daring exiles around him, began gathering an army for the purpose of invading the Netherlands. His project was equivalent to a declaration of war against Philip. As coming from himself such an act was at best a piece of sublime folly, but if he could rouse the Netherlanders to support him, it would acquire the altogether different aspect of the rebellion of an outraged people to secure their inalienable rights. To fill the provinces with his own spirit of resistance became William's supreme object, and gradually, although not without disappointments and delays, he succeeded. As a result a small people challenged the greatest power of Europe, and after a dramatic struggle of eighty years (1568–1648) issued from the fight as victor. No war more honorable than this has ever been waged in the history of the human race.

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The first campaign proved the complete superiority of Spanish generalship and the Spanish soldiery. William's army, largely composed of ill-paid mercenaries, was defeated and scattered. Alva, in consequence, made light of the invasion. It had not been supported, as William had calculated, by an internal rising. To all appearances the country, crushed under the Spanish heel, had fallen into a torpor. But if this was what Alva counted on, he was destined before long to a harsh awakening. The Netherlands had indeed failed from fear to respond to William's first call, but unfortunate as the campaign of 1568 was, it had had its effect; it had excited the people for a moment with the hope of deliverance and so stiffened them for resistance. Alva's own folly did the rest. Every act of his strengthened them in their feeling that death was better than life under Spanish rule. This appeared when Alva attempted (1571) to fill his empty treasury by a system of outrageous extortion, the chief feature of which was a tax called the Tenth Penny, consisting of the levy of ten per cent upon every commercial transaction, even upon the purchase of daily necessities. To this monstrous proposition the citizens responded simply by the closing of their shops and the total cessation of business.

William and Alva.

The Tenth Penny.

While Alva was still embarrassed by the commercial deadlock which he had himself created, there came the news of the first triumph of the exiles. If Spain held the land in her iron grasp, she could not in the same unchallenged way hold the sea, peculiarly the element of the Dutch. Dutch freebooters, proudly calling themselves "beggars of the sea" in imitation of the first brotherhood of the enemies of Spain, had long done great harm to Spanish trade, but now, rendered bold by long battle with wind and wave, they swept down upon the coast, and secured the first stronghold in their fatherland at a point called Brill (April

The Dutch success at Brill, 1572.

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1, 1572). A score of towns, especially in the northern provinces, felt suddenly encouraged to drive the Spaniards out, and Alva unexpectedly found his power limited to Brussels and the south. Thereupon the liberated province of Holland elected William the Silent Stadtholder or governor, and Holland and Zealand together, both situated on the sea, became from this time forth the heart of the Dutch resistance.

Rising of Holland and Zealand.

Barbarous character of the war.

Thrown into the fiercest mood by these sudden reverses, Alva prepared to win back the lost ground. Pity henceforth was excluded from his thoughts. Mons, Mechlin, Haarlem, and many other towns which he recaptured were delivered to the unbridled excesses of the Spanish soldiery. Women and children were slaughtered in cold blood. The war entered upon a new stage, in which oppressors and oppressed thirsted for each other's blood like wild beasts, and neither sought nor gave quarter. It was a fight to the last ditch and of unexampled fury.

Recall of Alva.

Alva's incapacity to deal with the situation was soon apparent to friend and foe. Before the walls of Alkmaar he met, in the year 1573, with a serious check. His six years of government (1567–73) by Council of Blood and Tenth Penny had ended in unqualified disaster. Tortured by gout and tired of staring at the ruin about him, he demanded his recall.

His successor as Spanish governor-general was Requesens (1573–76). Requesens was a sensible, moderate man, who might have done something if matters had not gone so far under Alva. But although he abolished the Council of Blood and the Tenth Penny, and proclaimed an amnesty, everybody continued to look upon him with distrust. So he had to proceed with the military conquest of the still unsubdued province of Holland. The most notable event of his administration was the siege of Leyden (1573–74). When the city seemed for failure of provisions to be lost, William

The siege of Leyden, 1574.

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of Orange, all of whose attempts to succor the city had been thwarted, resolved on an extreme measure; he ordered that the dykes be cut. As the water of the sea rushed over the fields, the "beggars" crowded after in their ships, until their heroic efforts brought them to the walls of the city. Thus Leyden was saved, and its name was celebrated with tears and thank-offerings wherever Protestants in Europe met to commune. Prince William and the sister cities of Holland, wishing to reward the brave inhabitants for their heroism, founded a university at Leyden, which rapidly rose to the front rank and still stands as a monument of enlightened patriotism.

The death of Requesens and the Pacification of Ghent, 1576.

The death of Requesens, which occurred in 1576, was the indirect cause of a further extension of the revolt. As yet it had been confined to the provinces of the north, which had generally adopted the Protestantism of Calvin, and to such occasional cities of the south as inclined toward the same faith. Revolt from Spain followed swiftly and inevitably upon the heels of Protestantism. The grievances of the southern provinces against Spain were certainly as great as those of the north, but as the southerners clung to the Catholic faith, they felt less passionately exasperated against the Spanish rule. For a brief moment, however, following the death of Requesens, north and south, Dutch and French, Protestant and Catholic—in a word, the United Netherlands—bound themselves together in one resistance. The occasion was furnished by the general horror inspired by the Spanish soldiery, which, left upon the death of Requesens without leaders and without pay, indulged in a wild orgy of theft, murder, and pillage. The "Spanish Fury," as the outbreak was called, did especial damage at Antwerp. This, the richest trading city of the Atlantic seaboard, was looted from garret to cellar and subjected to losses estimated at one hundred million dollars in our money. Indignation

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at these outrages swept the country, and in an agreement of the year 1576, called the Pacification of Ghent, north and south declared that they would not rest until the Spanish troops were withdrawn from the land and the old liberties restored.

North and south go their own way.

It was the most auspicious moment of the revolution, but it was not destined to bear fruit. The religious distrust between Protestants and Catholics, and in less degree the inherent differences between peoples of French and German blood, fomented by Don John of Austria (1576–78) and the shrewd duke of Parma (1578–92), who succeeded Requesens as Spanish governors, soon annulled the Pacification of Ghent and drove a wedge between the north and south, the result of which we still trace to-day in the existence of a Protestant Holland and a Catholic Belgium.

The duke of Parma, 1578–92.

It was especially owing to Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, who was son of the former regent Margaret and nephew of Philip, that the southern provinces were saved for Spain. Alexander, in addition to being endowed with military genius of a high order, was master of all the ruses and subterfuges which passed for diplomacy in his day. The historian Motley accounts it as not his least triumph that he could outdo that pastmaster in the art of prevarication, Elizabeth. He undertook to win the southern provinces to his side by adroit flattery of their Catholic prejudices. In January, 1579, three of them, Artois, Hainault, and French Flanders, signed the Treaty of Arras, which was practically a surrender to Spain. With heavy heart William saw the prospect of a United Netherlands, heralded by the Pacification of Ghent, vanish, and almost reluctantly prepared for a closer union of the provinces, faithful to the pledge of resistance to the death. In 1579 the provinces of the north, finally seven in number, and Protestant without exception—Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overyssel, Gronin-

The Union of Arras, 1579.

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gen, and Friesland—formed, for the purpose of an improved defence, the Union of Utrecht. Therewith there was born into the world a new state, the Dutch Republic, for which the articles drawn up at Utrecht served as a constitution.

The Union of Utrecht, 1579.

The new Republic did not entirely renounce the sovereignty of Philip until 1581. That was, however, after the bold act of Utrecht, a mere formality, and does not affect the statement that the Dutch nation was born in 1579. The Union of Utrecht, like many another constitution uniting a number of jealously independent states, had some signal defects. It did not create a sufficiently powerful executive, and did not give the central legislative body, called the States-General, free control of taxation. For the present, however, the personal ascendancy of William, who was made Stadtholder or governor of the most important provinces, made up for the inefficient federal arrangements.

The new Dutch Republic.

Thus the struggle went on, William, with a foothold in the north, against Parma, with a foothold in the south, while between them lay the rich Flemish provinces of Flanders and Brabant, which, flattered and assaulted by both sides, wavered irresolutely, and might fall either way. However, the skill of Parma, backed by the resources of Spain, now began to tell. City after city in the neutral zone had already yielded to the Spaniard, when there happened a calamity which seemed like the verdict of fate against the cause of liberty. Philip and Parma had long reasoned that if death would only remove William from the scene the insurrection would collapse. Finally, since fate seemed reluctant, they resolved to come to its assistance, and in 1580 Philip published a ban against his rebellious subject, offering gold and a patent of nobility to whoever would remove him from the living. William justified himself against Philip's charges in a pamphlet called the "Apology," wherein he drew a stinging portrait of the patron of assassins. Nevertheless, the

The ban and the "Apology."

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The murder of William, 1584.

ban was William's death-warrant. Many abortive attempts had already been made upon his life, when Balthasar Gérard, a Frenchman from the Franche Comté, and one of those unflinching fanatics in which the age abounded, pierced his breast with a bullet. The murder occurred on July 10, 1584, on the stairway of the prince's palace at Delft. The victim's last thoughts turned toward the struggle in which his country was engaged. "Lord have pity on my soul," he said, "and on this poor people." Gérard was executed amid atrocities against which every act of William's life was a protest, while Philip exulted in the deed and rewarded the heirs of the murderer according to his promise.

The Dutch Republic appeals for help to France and England.

William's death could not have come at a more inauspicious time, for Parma's fortunes just then were mounting to their zenith. In 1585 the great city of Antwerp fell into his hands after a long and memorable siege, and now only Holland and Zealand remained to be conquered. What were the weary Dutch to do? Their dead leader had held that their independence could only be conquered with the help of foreign powers, and had long directed passionate appeals for assistance to France and England. But these states, fearful of the power of Philip, had hesitated. Although Elizabeth occasionally sent secret encouragement in the form of money, she would not commit herself openly. France, too, vacillated, but, at one time, just before William's death, went the length of sending the duke of Anjou, brother of the king, to the aid of the insurgents. Anjou was offered the crown of the Netherlands on the understanding that he would rid the country of the Spaniards, but he proved a broken reed, intrigued, quarrelled with everybody, and left the country in disgrace in the very year of William's tragic end. There was now no chance of help except from Elizabeth, and the Dutch, at the end of their tether, made her a pressing tender of the young Republic. Although

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the prospect was inviting, moved by her customary caution she declined the dangerous honor. Nevertheless, she could no longer with due regard to her own safety refuse to grant substantial help. Spain and England had already begun to clash upon the sea, and the sentiment of the English people had declared vehemently for the hard-pressed Protestants of the Netherlands. For years Sir Francis Drake and others had been engaged in piratical raids, which they called singeing the beard of the king of Spain. Philip was nursing a just grievance in silence, but if ever he recovered the Low Countries, it was certain to go hard with England. Ungenerous as Elizabeth was where others were concerned, she had a sharp eye for her own interests, and therefore in December, 1585, signed a treaty with the Dutch, whereby she promised to send 6,000 soldiers to their aid.

Elizabeth takes the Dutch under her protection, 1585.

When the Englishmen came, under the command of the earl of Leicester, the queen's favorite, they did perhaps more harm than good, for Leicester shamefully betrayed the people he had come to serve. His entrance upon the war none the less marks an epoch, for by this step England definitely took sides in the struggle, and Philip was made to see that the conquest of the island-kingdom was an unavoidable preliminary to the reduction of his revolted provinces. Therefore he began to collect all his resources for an attack upon the English. In the year 1588 his Invincible Armada spread sail for England, only to be ruined by Elizabeth's valiant fleet and scattered by the tempests. Almost at the same time the Protestant Henry of Navarre succeeded to the French throne (1589), and Philip, alarmed at this new peril, resolved to move heaven and earth to save the neighbor kingdom for Catholicism. Thus fate, or chance, or a too unbridled ambition led him to direct his power on enterprises which carried him far afield and obliged him to relax his hold upon the Netherlands. The

Philip's attack diverted against England and France.

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ensuing wars with England and France weakened him to such a degree that he never returned to his attack upon his rebel subjects with his early vigor. Moreover, his great general, Parma, died in the year 1592, while the Dutch, who had hitherto reaped nothing but misfortune upon the battle-field, put themselves under the command of a gifted leader, in the person of Maurice of Nassau, William's son and heir, who had a special genius for conducting sieges, and who won back place after place, while the hardy Dutch sailors swept home and foreign waters clear of Spanish fleets. It was the Spaniards now who were pressed in their turn. When, in 1598, Philip was nearing his end, his cause among the Dutch had become hopeless; still, too proud to acknowledge defeat, he stubbornly fought on, and his son Philip III. persisted in the same wasteful and impracticable course. Only when utterly exhausted did he humble his pride sufficiently to agree, in the year 1609, to a Twelve Years' Truce.

Maurice of Nassau.

The Twelve Years' Truce, 1609.

It was not the end, but as good as the end. When the truce was over (1621), the Thirty Years' War was raging in Europe, and although Spain tried to make the confusion serve her purposes, and again attacked the Dutch, the firm resistance of the hardy little nation rendered the second effort at subjugation even more vain than the first. When the Peace of Westphalia (1648) put an end to the long German war, Spain at last declared herself ready for the great renunciation, and acknowledged the unqualified independence of the Dutch Republic.

Renewal of the war and Peace of Westphalia.

But abundant as was the harvest of glory which the young Republic gathered in its eighty years' struggle with Spain, it was not saved the shocks and sorrows which are the common lot of life. A source of very constant trouble lay in the loose confederation of the seven provinces. It has been stated that the Union of Utrecht did not create a strong central authority and left the provincial governments prac-

Troubles of the young Republic.

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tically in control. As a result the Republic seemed frequently on the point of going to pieces, and was maintained largely by the fact that Holland, being more important than the other six provinces put together, could impose her will on them. This is the federal difficulty under which the new Republic labored, but no less disturbing was what we may call the Orange problem. Maurice had contributed immensely to the ultimate success of the Dutch, and thus what his father had begun well he had ended brilliantly. The hearts of a grateful people turned to him; they made him Stadtholder or governor; they gave him the command on land and sea. There were those, however, who believed his position incompatible with republican tradition, and Maurice, who nursed a vast ambition, must be acknowledged to have lent some color to their suspicions. It was murmured in secret that he wished to make himself king. To any such ambition the rich burgher class, who by reason of a narrow franchise dominated in the government of city and province, were bitterly opposed, as likely to interfere with their monopoly of power, and under their able leader, John of Barneveldt, they began to organize in opposition to the House of Nassau. Thus the burgher and Orange parties, representing respectively oligarchical and monarchical principles, stood face to face. They clashed for the first time with violence in 1619, when Maurice by a very high-handed act seized Barneveldt and had him executed. Therewith the Orange party acquired an ascendancy which lasted till the middle of the century, when the burghers once more got the upper hand. In fact, the whole seventeenth century is marked by a continual fluctuation of control from Orangists to burghers and back again. Although Spain hoped much from these dissensions, they benefited her nothing, and hardly impaired, even momentarily, the marvellous Dutch development.

Weakness of the Confederation.

Republicans and Orangists.

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The progress of civilization.

In fact, the commercial and intellectual advance of the Republic during the course of the war remains the most astonishing feature of the period. It was as if the heroic struggle gave the nation an irresistible energy, which it could turn with success into any channel. The little seaboard state, which human valor had made habitable almost against the decrees of nature, became in the seventeenth century not only one of the great political powers of Europe, but actually the leader in commerce and in certain branches of industry; contributed, beyond any other nation, to contemporary science; and produced a school of painting the glories of which are hardly inferior to those of the Italian schools of the Renaissance. Such names as Hugo Grotius (d. 1645), the founder of international law; Spinoza (d. 1677), the philosopher; Rembrandt (d. 1674) and Frans Hals (d. 1666), the painters, furnish sufficient support to the claim of the United Provinces to a leading position in the history of civilization. At the bottom of the unrivalled material prosperity was the world-wide trade of the cities lining the coast. It was particularly extensive with the East Indies, and here were developed the most permanent and productive of the Dutch colonies, although there were others planted in Asia, Africa, and America. The city of Amsterdam, in the province of Holland, was the heart of the vast Dutch trade, and, much like London to-day, performed the banking business and controlled the money market of the entire world.

The decay of the southern provinces.

It was a tragical fate that awaited the southern provinces, which had remained Catholic and had more or less docilely submitted to the Spanish tyranny. They had to pay the inevitable penalty of resigning the rights with which their fathers had endowed them; henceforth their spirit was broken. Flanders and Brabant, which had once been celebrated as the paradise of Europe, fell into decay. The

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touch of intolerant Spain, here as everywhere, acted like a blight. It is a relief to note that in one branch of culture, at least, the inhabitants continued to distinguish themselves. The names of the great painters Rubens (d. 1640) and Van Dyck (d. 1641) witnessed that the old Flemish spirit occasionally stirred in the tomb where it had been laid by Alva and Philip, and justified the hope that the future would perhaps see a resurrection.

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CHAPTER IX

THE REFORMATION AND THE CIVIL WARS IN FRANCE

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The wars of France and Spain over Italy.

WE have already examined the monarchy of France with a view to acquainting ourselves with its internal position and its international policy at the beginning of the Modern Period. We have seen that the king's power was very extensive, because he had a revenue which was independent of the meeting of his estates, and which he could use, if he pleased, to keep an army dependent on himself alone. Encouraged by their splendid position, the kings aspired to play a great rôle and attempted to conquer Italy. Charles VIII. inaugurated this adventurous policy with the famous invasion of 1494, did some local mischief, and retired much as he had come. He had, however, accomplished one thing heavy with consequences; he had aroused the jealousy of Spain. From this moment began the struggle between

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France and Spain for the possession of Italy, that filled Europe with wars and rumors of wars for the next half century. We have seen that Charles VIII. was baffled; his successor, Louis XII., began auspiciously, but his successes, too, passed away like vapor. Francis I., on his accession in 1515, returned once more to the assault, occupied Milan after the victory of Marignano, and held it for some years. But his history is a repetition of the fate of his predecessors. Spain would not hear of sharing Italy with another power, and at the battle of Pavia (1525), where Francis himself was captured, raised her banner over Lombardy. Again and again Francis renewed the war, like a man held by a spell; but he was no match for the steady, ponderous policy of his adversary, Charles V. The Spanish conquest of Italy was slow but irresistible, and when Francis died in 1547 it looked like an accomplished fact. Wearisome and apparently unprofitable as the long conflict with Charles V. was, it had one feature redounding to the French king's honor, for without the stubborn fight made by Francis, Europe might have fallen under the dominion of the powerful emperor. However complete his victories in Italy and the Netherlands were, Charles discovered that the resistance to him stiffened the moment he entered French territory. France and its king were capable of sudden heroism when it was a question of maintaining the integrity of the nation, and by vigorously upholding France they indirectly saved all Europe from subjection.

Victory inclines toward Spain.

Of equal importance with the Italian wars is the question of the Reformation and the course it took during the reign of Francis. Naturally, France could not avoid being affected by so universal a movement, and, naturally, the attitude toward it of a king so nearly absolute was of the highest consequence to its progress. Francis was a product of that worldlier Renaissance which arrived at its best ex-

Attitude of Francis toward the Reformation.

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pression in Italy in a brilliant reign of art and letters. For the more austere side of the movement which found vent, especially in the north, in the desire for a nobler religious life, he had little understanding. His early plunge into Italian life emphasized his natural bent. What he saw in the peninsula fascinated him, the social refinement, the luxury of dress and dwelling, the literature and art. He cultivated the friendship of the great painters—Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Titian, Andrea del Sarto—and rejoiced not a little when he succeeded in carrying some of them away to his own France. Occupied with such interests, religious and dogmatic quarrels were not likely to touch him very closely, and he would incline on the whole to let them alone. This course the king pursued until he made the disconcerting discovery that the religious agitations had a political side and were involving him in difficulties with the Pope and the rigid Catholic element of his people. Then he struck at the reformers, not from religious enthusiasm, it will be observed, but from what he set down as reasons of state.

Humanism and reform.

The Reformation in France, as everywhere else, started from small beginnings. Humanism had spread a vague longing for the reform of life in state and Church, and at the opening of the sixteenth century certain select spirits began definitely to formulate their protest against existing conditions. The leader in the humanistic circle was Jacques Lefèvre. As early as 1512 he translated St. Paul's Epistles, deriving from them that doctrine of justification by faith which under the strong championship of Luther became the very cornerstone of Protestantism. When one of Lefèvre's pupils became bishop of Meaux, he summoned his old master and other kindred spirits about him, and with their help made the town of Meaux the centre of the new religious spirit and the diocese of Meaux its seed-bed. When

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Luther's writings began to appear, the circle at Meaux was far from receiving them unconditionally, but was in general not displeased at the assault made upon the stolid self-satisfaction of Rome. Daily the partisans of reform grew, especially, it would seem, among the artisan class. But that the upper class was not left entirely unaffected is proved by the case of Queen Margaret of Navarre, the sister of Francis I., who, although she never formally separated from the old Church, became the friend and patron of the men who propagated the new ideas. Her attitude, vacillating between the old and the new, but not definitely committed to either, is typical of many people in France during the next generation.

Queen Margaret of Navarre.

From the first the theological faculty of the University of Paris, which was known under the name Sorbonne, and which had enjoyed an immense reputation in the Middle Ages, undertook to combat the movement of reform in France. The learned doctors prided themselves on their orthodoxy and raised a great outcry over the spread of heretical ideas. Nevertheless, their opposition was not likely to count for much, unless they could make the king act in their interest. That proved difficult, owing to the tolerance of Francis, until the disastrous battle of Pavia (1525) made him a prisoner and reduced the country to serious straits. The mother of Francis, Louise of Savoy, who acted as regent during his captivity, was ready to go down on her knees for help to almost anybody, and when she discovered that she could have the support of the Catholic clergy only at the cost of persecution, she consented. Francis on his return from Madrid quashed the heretical proceedings for a while, but as his need of ecclesiastical support continued, he saw himself obliged before long to return to the policy of repression. It was in one of these periods of persecution, in 1533, that there was banished from

Orthodoxy intrenched in the Sorbonne.

Francis becomes a persecutor.

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France a young man who was destined to make the world resound with his name—John Calvin. In this way, urged on by the Pope, whose alliance he needed, or by the Church of France, whose money and influence were essential to his plans, he drifted into a policy of persecution. Before he died his measures had acquired a severity that might have won the applause of Loyola and his newly formed order of Jesuits. The climax was reached in the famous Waldensian Massacre. The Waldenses were a simple and thrifty peasant people, who dwelt among the western Alps, and who, because they were half-forgotten in their remote valleys, had remained in undisturbed possession of certain doctrines spread by one Peter Waldo back in the twelfth century and condemned as heretical. The Roman intolerance of the sixteenth century found them out, and the king, yielding at last to the long-continued pressure, signed the order for their extermination. In 1545 the snow-capped mountains of the Alps witnessed a terrible scene. Three thousand helpless souls were massacred, hundreds were dragged from their homes to wear out their lives in the galleys, and many other hundreds were driven into exile.

The Waldensian Massacre, 1545.

Francis was succeeded by Henry II. (1547–59) who had little in common with his courtly, affable, and somewhat frivolous predecessor. If Francis persecuted from political necessity, Henry did so from deliberate preference. He had a sombre streak in his character, indicative of the shadow which the approaching Catholic reaction was casting before. On the day of his coronation he said to a high French prelate that he would make it a point of honor to exterminate from his kingdom all whom the Church denounced. This promise he took seriously, laboring without rest to uproot heresy from his realm. He even had the desire to establish the Inquisition with its vigorous machinery of courts, prisons, and police. But here he met with opposition from the Parlia-

The persecution of Henry II.

Persecution in hands of the regular courts of law.

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ments. Heresy had hitherto belonged to their jurisdiction, and they did not care to have their power clipped for the advantage of the clergy. Therefore the Inquisition, technically speaking, never was admitted into France; but the Parliaments, urged on by the zealous king, did such cruel work in condemning Protestants to death and confiscating the property of suspected persons, that it is hard to see how the Inquisition could have done more. But cruelty was of no avail. Protestant opinions continued to circulate, spreading chiefly from Geneva, where the exiled Calvin had by this time established his Reformed Church, and before Henry died several dozen congregations had sprung into existence, which, like the early Christians, conducted forbidden worship in garrets and cellars in the perpetual shadow of annihilation.

Henry and the enmity with Spain.

If Henry was largely occupied with the persecution of the Protestants, who stubbornly refused to be exterminated, he did not, therefore, neglect the foreign interests of France. As the heir of his predecessors he found himself involved in a sharp rivalry with Spain. The chief object of that rivalry had been Italy, and the matter, when brought to the issue of arms, had been decided again and again in favor of Spain. At the time of Henry's accession Italy was seemingly secure in the hands of the victor, but that did not keep Henry, with a resolution more bold than discreet, from challenging the fact. That he gained no more than his predecessors we have seen in Chapter VI, for he was obliged to sign with Spain the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), which was in substance a complete renunciation of the claims of his house to a position in Italy. But the Spanish wars of Henry's time were, nevertheless, not so entirely unprofitable for France as the long struggle of his father had been. When in 1552 the German Protestants, inspired and led by Maurice of Saxony, rose against Charles V., Henry II., in return for

Territorial successes of Henry.

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his alliance with the princes, was permitted to occupy the three border bishoprics of the empire, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and when in 1557 and 1558 Philip II. defeated the French at St. Quentin and Gravelines, the duke of Guise retaliated by suddenly pouncing upon and seizing from the English, who were the allies of Philip, the port of Calais. The sum of Henry's wars is that by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis the French definitely abandoned Italy, but adopted in its place, as is shown by the acquisition of the three bishoprics and of Calais, a policy of expansion upon their eastern and northern frontier. This was a much more natural ambition for the sovereign of a country situated like France, and set a precedent which had an important effect on Henry's successors. With his death the kingdom fell for a while into an eclipse through civil dissensions, but when it recovered, it undertook to push out its border to the east and north. In consequence of this diversion of French ambition the rivalry with Spain tended to fall into abeyance, and in its place arose the rivalry with the country most directly threatened by the change of direction in the French advance—Germany.

Henry gives French ambition a new direction.

When Henry signed the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, it was with the clear consciousness that it was necessary for all foreign wars to cease until the matter which was every day becoming more pressing and more baffling, namely, the spread of Protestant opinion, had been attended to. In league with Philip he designed to extirpate heresy, root and branch. The new alliance was signalized by the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to the Spanish king. At a tournament which was a feature of the prolonged celebration, Henry rode into the lists against the captain of his guard. A chance splinter from his antagonist's lance entered his eye, and he died before he could realize his dream of purging his realm of the Protestant infection.

Death of Henry, 1559.

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Until this time the Protestants of France had suffered their persecutions in patience. But now the time came when they organized themselves more perfectly and offered resistance to their oppressors. This was no more than happened everywhere, for the intolerance of the dominant religion looked upon every rival faith as wrong and pernicious, and hence insisted on its suppression, if necessary, by the sword. The result of Protestant resistance was a long civil war, in which became involved other issues besides the initial one of religion. The reader will recall a similar confusion of issues in Germany and England. When in 1546 civil war broke out between the German Protestants and the emperor, Maurice of Saxony used the opportunity to advance his own fortunes in the world; and when in 1553 Edward VI. died, the duke of Northumberland, on the plea of religion, tried to put his own daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane Grey, upon the English throne. The inference to be drawn from these examples is that many mean, sordid, and personal interests are likely to intrude themselves into every religious struggle in order to fight for their own ends under the mask of religion. We shall presently meet this deplorable mixture of religious and selfish motives in the civil wars of France.

Protestantism makes a fight for its life.

At the death of Henry, his son Francis, who was but sixteen years old, and physically and mentally feeble, succeeded to the throne. When the power in an absolute monarchy such as France practically was at this time is not exercised by the sovereign, it is inevitably seized by some ambitious man or faction. The conditions in the court which surrounded the boy king have therefore an unusual interest.

Francis II.

The wife of the feeble Francis was a queen in her own right, Mary of Scotland. Although a woman of parts, she was of her husband's age and too inexperienced to assume

Queen Mary and the Guises.

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control in his name. Her presence on the throne, however, offered an opportunity for the ambition of her two uncles, brothers of her mother and heads of the great House of Guise. The older was Francis, duke of Guise; the younger was a churchman, Cardinal Lorraine. They seized the reins, and because they were ardent Catholics continued Henry II.'s policy of Protestant persecution.

The Bourbons.

There were those, however, who looked with jealousy upon the rule of the Guises and called it usurpation. They were the princes of the House of Bourbon, a younger branch of the royal family. The head of the house was sovereign of what was left of the kingdom of Navarre in the Pyrenees and was known as King Anthony. The younger was Louis, prince of Condé. They contended that, as princes of the blood royal, they had a better right to rule for the feeble king than the family of Guise, and naturally everybody at court who had a grudge against the Guises came to their support. Thus the Bourbon princes headed a party of "malcontents," who were ready to seize every opportunity to rid themselves of their rivals. In casting about they could not but observe that the Guises were also hated by the Protestants whom they persecuted. Out of this common enmity there soon grew an intimacy and an alliance. Anthony in a faithless, vacillating manner, Condé more firmly, accepted the Reformed faith, and many of the "malcontents"—high-placed courtiers and noblemen for the most part—following their example, it came to pass that French Protestantism became inextricably involved with political intrigue. It was at this period that the party name of Huguenots, a term of uncertain and disputed origin, was fixed upon the French Protestants.[1]

Alliance of Bourbons and Protestants.

Catherine de' Medici, the queen-mother.

Between the rival court factions of Bourbon and Guise,

[1] The most probable hypothesis is that Huguenot is a corruption of the German word *Eidgenossen*, a name applied to the Swiss Confederation.

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and belonging to neither, stood a person not highly regarded at first, but destined to become famous—Catherine de' Medici. She was a Florentine princess, widow of Henry II. and mother of the young king. Protestant contemporaries came to look upon her as an incarnate fiend, but one of her chief antagonists, who afterward became King Henry IV. of France, judged her more leniently and correctly. He once silenced an over-harsh critic by asking what was she to do, an anxious mother, torn hither and thither by the fiercest of party feuds, and with no adviser on whom she could rely. In this apology of the great king lies probably the key to Catherine's career. She was, above all, a mother, mother of royal children, for whom she desired to preserve the throne of France. Doubtless, too, after she had once tasted the sweets of power, she clung to them with selfish tenacity as men and women will. Armed only with her woman's wit she plunged into the conflict of parties, and like other rulers of her time intrigued, bribed, and prevaricated to keep herself afloat. Thus she might even lay claim to our regard if her shifty policy had not involved her in one act which must forever smirch her name. We shall see that she was largely responsible for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The troubles begin.

Out of these factions around the throne grew the intrigues which led to the long religious wars in France. It is needless to try to put the blame for them on one or the other side. Given a weakened royal executive, the implacable religious temper which marks the society of the sixteenth century, and a horde of powerful, turbulent, and greedy nobles, and civil war is a necessary consequence. We can notice only the more prominent symptoms of the coming outbreak. The path of the Guises was beset with conspiracies, instigated or connived at by the Bourbon princes. But they managed to keep the upper hand. On one occasion, at Amboise in 1560, they took a direful vengeance upon

Conspiracy of Amboise, 1560.

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their adversaries, the Huguenots and "malcontents," by hanging groups of them to the battlements of the king's castle at Amboise and drowning others in the Loire.

Death of Francis, December, 1560.

But their downfall was at hand. In December, 1560, the boy king Francis died, and his widow Mary, finding her rôle in France exhausted, prepared to leave for Scotland. Thus the props upon which the power of the Guises depended broke under them. The successor of Francis was his brother Charles IX., a weakling and a minor, who was but ten years old. King Anthony of Navarre, as nearest of kin, might have put forward a claim to the regency, but peevishly yielded the honor to the queen-mother. Catherine, therefore, for the first time held the reins of power. Desirous, above all, of maintaining her son's authority, and filled with the sense of the difficulty of her position between Guise and Bourbon, she hit upon a policy of balance and moderation, called representatives of both hostile factions into her council, and published an Edict of Toleration, the first issued in France, granting to the Huguenots a limited right of worship. Here was a decided change of policy, exhibiting Catherine in the light of a promoter of the cause of religious liberty. But her good intentions came to naught, were bound to come to naught among men who, like the Protestants and Catholics of the sixteenth century, were passionately set on realizing their own religious system without the abatement of one jot or tittle. While the Catholics were imbittered by the extent of Catherine's concessions, the Protestants grumbled at the remaining limitations, and among the more fanatical followers of the two parties, sometimes without provocation, there occurred sharp conflicts, frequently ending in terrible excesses.

Catherine in control.

Catherine resolves on toleration.

The Massacre of Vassy, 1562.

One of these conflicts, the Massacre of Vassy (1562), put an end to hesitation and led to war. The duke of Guise was passing through the country with a company of armed

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retainers, when he happened, at Vassy, upon a group of Huguenots, assembled in a barn for worship. Sharp words led to an encounter, and before the duke rode away sixty persons lay dead upon the ground and more than two hundred had been wounded. Fierce indignation seized the Protestants throughout France, and when the duke of Guise was received by the Catholics of Paris like a hero returning from successful war, and Catherine declared herself unable to call him to account, Condé issued an appeal and took the field.

Character of the war.

Thus were inaugurated the religious wars of France, which were not brought to a conclusion until 1598, by the Edict of Nantes, and which in their consequences continued to trouble the country well into the next century. For our purpose it is sufficient to look upon the period from 1562 to 1598 as one war, though it is true that there were frequent suspensions of arms, supporting themselves upon sham truces and dishonest treaties.[1] The war, like all the religious wars of the century, was waged with inhuman barbarity, and conflagration, pillage, massacre, and assassination blot every stage of its progress. Protestants and Catholics alike became brutes, and vied with each other in their efforts to turn their country into a desert.

The Peace of St. Germain.

When the Treaty of St. Germain (1570), granting the Protestants the largest toleration which they had yet enjoyed, temporarily closed the chapter of conflicts, many of the original leaders had passed away. King Anthony of Navarre had been killed in battle against his former friends, the Huguenots, whom he had basely deserted (1562); the duke of Guise had been assassinated (1563); and Condé

[1] Eight wars have been distinguished as follows: First war, 1562–63; second war, 1567–68; third war, 1568–70 (ended by the Peace of St. Germain); fourth war, 1572–73; fifth war, 1574–76; sixth war, 1577; seventh war, 1579–80; eighth war (called the War of the Three Henries), 1585–89, which continued in another form until the Edict of Nantes (1598).

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had been treacherously slain in a charge of horse (1569). The head of the Huguenot party was now Anthony's young son, King Henry of Navarre, but the intellectual leadership fell, for the present, upon Gaspard de Coligny.

Admiral Coligny.

The new leader deserves a word in passing, for he was one of the few high-born "malcontents," who entered the Protestant ranks for other reasons than political rancor, and who, while fighting with conviction for the religion he preferred, never forgot, in the wild broils of partisanship, that he was a Frenchman and owed a duty to his country. He belonged to the great family of Châtillon, was allied through his mother with the family of Montmorency, and without going to sea held, anomalously enough, the honorary post of Admiral of France. Take him for all in all, he was the most honorable and attractive character of his time.

Effort at peace after St. Germain, 1570.

Meanwhile, a moderate party had been formed in France, which tried to make the Peace of St. Germain the beginning of a definite settlement. It was only too clear that the bloodshed, which was draining the country of its strength, ruined both parties and brought profit to none except the enemies of France. The more temperate of both sides, Coligny prominent among them, began to see the folly of the struggle, and King Charles himself, who was now of age and had replaced the Regent Catherine, inclined to this view. And yet such were the mutual suspicions and animosities that the effort to remove all cause of quarrel precipitated the most horrible of all the incidents of the war, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Marriage of Henry and Margaret.

After the Peace of St. Germain, Coligny had come up to Paris and had rapidly acquired great influence with the king. The young monarch seemed to be agreed to put an end for all time to internal dissension, enforce strictly the terms of the new peace with its provision of a limited right of worship for the Protestants, and turn the strength of the united

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country against the hereditary enemy, Spain. For this purpose he arranged, as a preliminary step, a marriage between his sister Margaret and young Henry of Navarre. Joyfully responding to the invitation of King Charles, the Huguenots poured in swarms into Paris to attend the wedding of their chief, which was celebrated on August 18, 1572.

Attempted assassination of Coligny.

The wedding seemed to inaugurate an era of Protestant triumphs. Coligny's star, shedding the promise of toleration, was steadily rising; that of the Guises and their ultra-Catholic supporters, standing for religious dissension, was as steadily setting. Catherine de' Medici, originally hardly more attached to the Guises than to the Bourbons and Huguenots, because primarily solicitous only about herself and her children, had lately lost her influence with the king. She knew well whither it had gone, and fixed the hatred of a passionate nature upon Coligny. Burning to regain her power, she now put herself in communication with the Guises. On August 22d, as Coligny was leaving the palace of the king, a ball, meant for his breast, struck him in the arm. Charles, who hurried in alarm to the bedside of his councillor, was filled with indignation. "Yours the wound, mine the sorrow," he said, and swore to search out the assassin and his accomplices.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The terror of discovery and punishment which now racked Catherine and the Guises drove them to devise some means by which they might deflect the king's vengeance. On the spur of the moment, as it were, they planned the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. This famous massacre is, therefore, not to be considered, as was once the custom, the carefully laid plot of the Catholic heads of Europe, but rather as the bloodthirsty improvisation of a desperate band. Catherine de' Medici and the Guises were its authors, and the fervidly Catholic population of Paris was the instrument

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of their spite. How the king's consent was got when all was ready would be difficult to understand, if we did not know that he was weak and cowardly, and not entirely sound of mind. In a session of the council, Catherine plied him with the bugbear of a Huguenot plot, until in an access of insane rage he cried out that they should all be butchered. In the early morning hours of St. Bartholomew's day (August 24th) the tocsin was sounded from all the churches of Paris. At the signal the Catholic citizens slipped noiselessly from their houses, entered the residences which had been previously designated by a chalk mark as the homes of the Huguenots, and slaughtered the inmates in their beds. Coligny was one of the first victims of the ensuing fury, Henry of Guise himself presiding at the butchery of his Huguenot rival. That night the streets flowed with blood, and for many days after the provinces, incited by the example of the capital, indulged in similar outrages. The grim saying went the rounds that the high espousals of Navarre must be given a tinge of crimson. The bridegroom himself was in danger of assassination, but managed to save his life by temporarily renouncing his faith. The victims of this fearful exhibition of fanaticism amounted to 2,000 in Paris, and 6,000 to 8,000 in the rest of France. We can better understand the spirit of the time when we hear that the Catholic world, the Pope and Philip of Spain at its head, made no effort to conceal its delight at this easy method of getting rid of its religious adversaries.

Henry III.

War, with all its dreary incidents, straightway flamed up again. In 1574 Charles IX. died from natural causes, though the Huguenots were pleased to ascribe his death to remorse for his share in the great crime of St. Bartholomew. His brother, Henry III., succeeded him on the throne. A new element of interest was introduced into the struggle only when the death of Henry's youngest brother, the duke of

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Alençon, and his own failure to have heirs, involved, with the religious dispute, the question of the succession.

The question of the succession.

By the law of the realm the crown would have to pass upon Henry's death to the nearest male relative, who was Henry of Navarre, head of the collateral branch of Bourbon. But Henry was a Huguenot, the enemy of the faith of the vast majority of his future subjects. When his succession became probable, Henry of Guise and his followers formed the Holy League, which pledged itself to maintain the interest of the Roman Church at all hazards and never permit a heretic to sit on the throne of France. While the Catholics were forming a partisan organization regardless of their obligation to their country, the Huguenots showed a spirit no less narrow and sectarian. They planned to form themselves into a federal republic, practically independent of the kingdom of France. It was plain that party was becoming more and more, country less and less, and that the outcome of the wasteful civil strife would be the ruin and disruption of France. In consequence of these developments the king found himself in evil straits. As head of the state he was pledged to the interests of the country and was inclined to pursue a policy of reconciliation and peace. But the League and the Huguenots would have no peace except on their own terms, and the king, trying to hold his course between Scylla and Charybdis, was deserted by all except the handful of men who refused to share in the madness of partisan fury. In the new turn of the civil struggle three parties, each championed by a leader of the name of Henry, disputed the control of France.

League and Huguenots.

War of the Three Henries.

The new war, called the War of the Three Henries (1585–89), steeped the country in such confusion that men soon indulged in every form of lawlessness without punishment. King Henry, an effeminate dandy with a fondness for lapdogs and ear-rings, had gone to all lengths in order to main-

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tain his authority, and had practically resigned the real power into the hands of the head of the League; but at last, in December, 1588, he indignantly resolved to put an end to his humiliation. He invited Henry of Guise to his cabinet, and there had him treacherously despatched by his guard. Cowardice and rancor could go no further, and the League turned in horror from the murderer, Paris and Catholic France declaring for his deposition. In his despair the king fled to Henry of Navarre, and was advancing with his Huguenot subjects upon his capital, when a fanatical Dominican monk forced admission to his presence and killed him with a knife (August, 1589). With him the House of Valois came to an end. The question was now simply between Henry of Navarre, the rightful claimant to the crown, and the League, which would have none of him.

Murder of Henry of Guise, 1588.

Murder of Henry III., 1589.

Accession of Henry IV.

The new Henry, Henry IV., first king of the House of Bourbon, was a brave soldier, an intelligent ruler, and a courtly gentleman. He had his faults, springing from a gay, mercurial temperament, but intensely human as they were, they actually contributed to his popularity. He was confronted on his accession by the disconcerting fact that his followers were only a small part of France. The attachment of the Catholic majority he knew could only be won slowly, and force, he suspected from the first, would be of no avail. Therefore, he undertook patiently to assure the Catholics of the loyalty of his intentions and win their recognition. If the League could only have found a plausible rival for the throne, Henry might have been annihilated; but his claim was incontrovertible, and that was his strength. For the present no one thought of disarming. Henry won a number of engagements, notably the battle of Ivry (1590), but the League, still managed by the Guise faction in the person of Henry of Guise's younger brother, and supported by Philip of Spain, could not be scattered.

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The conversion of Henry

For four years Henry waited for his subjects to come over to his side; then he took a decisive step and went over to theirs. The misery of his countrymen, racked by the endless civil struggle, wrenched his heart; also he was in constant alarm lest the League or Philip II., or both in agreement, should impose on France an elected sovereign in his stead. In July, 1593, he solemnly abjured his faith, and was readmitted into the communion of the Roman Catholic Church. The effect was almost magical. He was recognized throughout France, the League fell apart, the king of Spain was deserted by his French partisans, and the war ceased. In February, 1594, he could proceed with his coronation at Chartres, and when a month later he approached Paris the gates were thrown open and he was received like a hero and a saviour by those same Parisians who in the period of his apostacy from the Church had spewed him out of their mouths.

Justified or not?

Henry's conversion fiercely excited contemporary opinion. By uncompromising Huguenots, by many Protestants the world over, the act was denounced as nothing less than treason. But by modern historians, whose judgment is far less affected by allegiance to a particular dogma, the conversion is regarded more leniently. In so far as we are inclined to admit that attachment to one's country is as lofty, if not a loftier consideration than attachment to one's Church, we have praise rather than blame for the patriot king. But even our altered standards of conduct do not excuse Henry for taking his change of sides so lightly. He disposed of his conversion with a smile and an epigram. Paris is well worth a Mass, he said to the circle of his courtiers. The sentiment confirms the earlier statement that we have in him a gay, sensuous cavalier, constitutionally incapable of being very serious about the great matter of religion, which occupied all the profounder spirits of the age. But his con-

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stitutional unfitness for religious passion redounded, as in the case of Elizabeth of England, to the advantage of his country. He could practise a genuine tolerance, and could undertake, on the basis of it, to carry through a solution of the religious conflict.

The Edict of Nantes, 1598.

The document in which Henry tried to arrange for the peaceful living side by side of Huguenots and Catholics is known, from the town in which the king affixed his signature, as the Edict of Nantes. It bears the date of April 13, 1598, and falls naturally into the three sections of religious rights, civil rights, and political rights. Under the head of religious rights we note that Protestant worship was authorized in two places in each bailiwick of France, as well as in the castles of noblemen. As a concession to the fanaticism of the day, the reformed service was expressly forbidden at Paris and at the royal court. In the matter of civil rights, a Huguenot was recognized as a full-fledged Frenchman, who was protected by the law wherever he went, and was eligible to any office. So far the settlement of Nantes was conceived in the modern spirit, and was far ahead of any solution found in any other country. But by the section dealing with political rights, the Protestants were granted an exceptional position, in entire disagreement with present-day conceptions, and destined to prove incompatible with the interests and even the existence of the state. They could hold assemblies in which they legislated for themselves, and they were put in military possession of a certain number of fortified towns, of which La Rochelle was the chief. As long as Henry lived, there was peace between Protestants and Catholics, but the tolerant spirit of Henry was appreciated by but a handful of men, and the mass of Protestants and Catholics continued to regard each other with venomous hatred. Once again we may see how in that age of religious passion intolerance was not so much the work of the governments

The political privileges.

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as of the people themselves, a thing inborn as the love of kin or the fear of fire. Therefore, the strong hand of Henry had no sooner been withdrawn than the religious conflict threatened to revive.

Peace with Spain, 1598.

In the same year in which Henry disposed of the Protestant issue, he signed a treaty of peace with Philip II. Spain had made common cause with the League, and was recognized by Henry as a dangerous enemy to his House and nation, but the time was not yet ripe for decisive action. The Peace of Vervins (1598) drew the boundary between France and Spain as determined in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis of 1559.

Peace labors of Henry and Sully.

France being now at peace within and without, Henry set about the task of healing the wounds of his stricken country. The finances were put in charge of a friend of his Huguenot days, the duke of Sully, whose vigilance and honesty soon wiped out a large part of the state debt and converted the annual deficit into an annual surplus. Henry himself did all in his power to encourage agriculture, then as now the chief source of French prosperity. He built good roads, he favored new industries, especially the manufacture of silk, and he made a modest beginning toward acquiring for France a foothold in America by furthering French enterprise in the basin of the St. Lawrence.

Henry resolves to attack the House of Hapsburg.

When, after years of reconstructive labor, Henry saw himself at the head of a flourishing commonwealth, he again turned with vigor to foreign affairs. The House of Hapsburg, reigning through its two branches in Spain and Austria, seemed to him, now as ever, the great enemy of France. Throughout the period of peace he had cultivated the friendship of the smaller powers of Europe—the Italian states, the Swiss, Holland—until he exercised a kind of protectorship over them. Thus backed, he thought he might summon the House of Hapsburg once more to the field. A

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local quarrel in Germany was just about to furnish him with the necessary pretext for beginning the war, when on May 14, 1610, he was laid low by the dagger of a fanatic named Ravaillac.

Murdered, 1610.

The regency of Maria de' Medici.

At Henry's death his son Louis XIII. (1610–43) was but nine years old. Accordingly, a regency was proclaimed under Louis's mother, Maria de' Medici, whom Henry IV. had married upon the grant of a divorce from his first wife, Margaret of Valois. Maria, an Italian of the same House as the former regent, Catherine de' Medici, was a large and coarse woman ("*une grosse banquière*" was her husband's ungallant description of her), without personal or political merit. The sovereign power was, therefore, soon in a bad way. Italian favorites exercised control, and the turbulent nobility, which had been repressed by the firm hand of Henry IV., began again to aspire to political importance. Among these nobles the Huguenot aristocracy, who had been permitted by the Edict of Nantes to keep up an army and several fortified places, assumed an especially threatening tone, and judging from the confusion which followed Maria's assumption of power, it seemed more than likely that France was drifting into another era of civil war.

Richelieu saves the state.

If France was saved from this calamity, it was due, and solely due, to one man, Armand Jean du Plessis, known to fame as Cardinal Richelieu. When he entered the royal council, to become before long, by the natural ascendancy of his intellect, the leading minister (1624), the queen-regent had already been succeeded by the king; but under the king, who had much more of his mother than of his father in him, and was dull and slothful, the affairs of the realm had not been in the least improved. Richelieu, therefore, found himself confronted by a heavy task. But his unique position proved a help to him in fulfilling it. As a boy he had been destined for the Church, and at a ludicrously early

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age he had, by reason of his noble birth and the favor of the king, been made bishop of Luçon. Later he was honored by the Pope with the cardinal's hat. His ecclesiastical dignities, added to his position in the state, raised his authority to a height where it could not be assailed while the king supported him. And this the king did to the fullest extent. That is the dullard Louis XIII.'s greatest merit in the eyes of history. While Richelieu lived, he retained, in spite of intrigues and conspiracies, the power in his hands and was the real king of France.

His programme.

Richelieu was one of those rare statesmen who can form and carry through with an iron will a policy suited to the needs of the country. His programme, which seems to have been inspired by that of Henry IV., falls into three sections. In the first place, he inherited Henry's tolerance, a circumstance the more remarkable as he was a leading dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church. He would grant the Huguenots the civil and religious rights laid down in the Edict of Nantes, but their political rights, which made them almost independent of the state, he would ruthlessly destroy. His second aim was to clip the wings of the nobility once for all, and his third, to overthrow for the glory of France the power of the House of Hapsburg.

The Huguenot problem.

He first attacked the pressing problem of the Huguenots. Since Henry's death they had become restless and hung on the horizon like a thunder-cloud, ready to burst at any moment. Richelieu proceeded cautiously, treated with them as long as negotiation was feasible, and suddenly, when the opportunity came, invested their chief town, La Rochelle. A long siege followed, wherein the endurance of the beleaguered citizens proved no match for the skill of the tireless cardinal, who conducted the operations in person. The English fleet, sent by Charles I., tried to relieve the town, but in vain. In 1628 the Rochellese, having lost 16,000 inhabitants through

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hunger and pestilence, surrendered at discretion. The next year the remnant of the Protestant forces in the south was likewise disarmed and Richelieu was master of the situation. But now his admirable moderation came to light. The ordinary ruler of the time would have compelled the beaten minority to conform to the religion of the majority or else be burned or banished. Not so Richelieu, true forerunner of the brotherhood of all Christian men. He confirmed to the Huguenots the civil and religious rights granted by the Edict of Nantes, and for the rest incorporated them into the state on the basis of equality with all other Frenchmen by cancelling their special political privileges.

The turbulent nobility.

The turbulent nobles intrenched in the provinces, where they exercised most of the functions of the local governments, gave the cardinal much food for thought. With his clear eye he saw that they were an anomaly in a state aspiring to be modern. They carried on a veritable private warfare by their duelling habits, and defied the authorities from behind their fortified castles. So Richelieu threw himself upon duels and castles, declaring by edict that the time for them was past, and executing a few of the most persistent duellists as an example to their class. He also directly undermined their authority by settling in the provinces agents called *intendants*, who took supreme charge of justice, police, and finances. These intendants were commoners, who executed orders received from Paris, and marked the creation of a new and highly centralized administration, in place of the ancient feudal one with the power in the hands of the local magnates. By virtue of this systematic abasement of the nobility to the profit of the royal executive, it is frequently maintained that Richelieu created the absolute monarchy. This is not strictly true, for we have seen that the French kings had been becoming more and more powerful ever since the fifteenth century; but it is

Centralization of administration.

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beyond contradiction that Richelieu eminently improved the king's position by his successful war upon the nobles.

Richelieu, the States-General, and the Parliaments.

Here we are tempted to ask what became, in the presence of this exaltation of the royal prerogative, of those institutions which still exercised some check on the king's will—the States-General and the Parliaments? Richelieu regarded their pretensions with suspicion. The States-General, composed of the three classes, clergy, nobles, and commoners, had been summoned by the regent in 1614, quarrelled, as usual, among themselves, and accomplished nothing. Richelieu did not summon them again. They fell into oblivion and were not thought of until the absolute monarchy, one hundred and seventy-five years later, acknowledged its bankruptcy, and was reminded of this means of appealing to the people for aid. The Parliaments —there were ten of them in Richelieu's day—fared somewhat better. They continued to act as supreme courts of justice, but their interference with political affairs the high-handed cardinal would not suffer.

Richelieu and the Thirty Years' War.

With the Huguenots at peace and the selfish nobility held in check, Richelieu could take up with vigor his foreign plans, looking to the humiliation of the House of Hapsburg. It was a most convenient circumstance that Germany was convulsed at this time with the Thirty Years' War. (See next chapter.) With the instinct of a statesman Richelieu felt that if he helped the German Protestants against the Catholics, represented by the emperor and Spain, he would sooner or later acquire some permanent advantages for France. His gradual interference, developing from occasional subsidies of money to the recruitment of large armies, finally secured to his king the balance of power in the German war, and made France practical dictator of Europe when the Peace of Westphalia (1648) ended the struggle. Richelieu did not live to see this result (he died 1642), but the ad-

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vantage which France secured on that occasion may be written down to his statesmanlike conduct of the government.

Bloom of French culture.

Many criticisms can be urged against Richelieu's rule; for instance, his handling of the finances was mere muddling, and his exaltation of the monarch at the expense of every other institution in the state led in the eighteenth century to dire disasters. But the sum of his achievement is none the less immense, when we reflect that he welded France into a solid union and made her supreme in Europe. The new splendor could not fail to stir the imagination, and favor the bloom of art and literature. The cardinal himself established the famous Academy of France as a kind of sovereign body in the field of letters (1635), and lived to see the birth of the French drama in the work of Corneille ("The Cid," 1636). This is an important circumstance, for France was destined in the days after Richelieu to exercise an even wider empire through her culture than through her arms.

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CHAPTER X

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR AND THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

REFERENCES: WAKEMAN, Europe 1598–1715, Chapters IV., V., VI.; GARDINER, The Thirty Years' War; GINDELY, The Thirty Years' War (a detailed and scholarly work); FLETCHER, Gustavus Adolphus.

SOURCE READINGS: ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapter XXIX. (The Jesuits in Germany, Sack of Magdeburg, Treaty of Westphalia, etc.).

Religious and political bearing of the Peace of Augsburg, 1555.

THE Peace of Augsburg of the year 1555 was undoubtedly a victory for the German Protestants. But it was also, since it took the affairs of religion out of the hands of the emperor and put them in the hands of the local powers, a victory of the princes. Henceforth the decline of the emperor was more certain than ever, while at the same time it became plain that the future of the German people depended on the ability of the princes to shape their territories into modern states.

Unsolved religious problems.

But if the Peace of Augsburg represents a victory of Protestantism over Catholicism, and of the princes over the emperor, it was far from being a final settlement of the troubles of Germany. The peace left important matters in suspense. To mention only two: (1) It recognized Lutheranism without extending any rights whatever to Calvinism; and (2) the article called the Ecclesiastical Reservation, as interpreted by the Catholics, prohibited any further seizures of Church property. None the less, the Lutherans, who put their own reading upon the Ecclesiastical Reservation, continued to take monastic property and to appropriate abbacies and

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bishoprics wherever they had the power. Calvinism, too, in greater favor than Lutheranism among Protestants radically inclined, continued to spread, although no law protected it. Add to these difficulties the hot passion which every question of religion excited in the sixteenth century, and it is plain that the country was drifting into another civil war.

Continued Protestant successes.

That the struggle was adjourned for over half a century was due to a variety of causes. In the first place, the immediate successors of Emperor Charles V., Ferdinand I. (1556–64) and Maximilian II. (1564–76), were moderate men, who did their utmost to preserve peace. Their views were seconded by the leading Lutheran princes, inclined by the natural conservatism of successful men to rest content with what they had won. Besides, these princes entertained the hope that without war, by gradual infiltration into all classes of society and through all districts, Protestantism might make a clean sweep of Germany. And, really, for some years the prospects were excellent. Protestantism possessed youth and confidence, and, in the Lutheran form at least, had a legal sanction. It continued to mount, like a tide, until it had covered the whole centre and north of Germany, and threatened the great bishoprics along the Rhine and the Hapsburg and Bavarian dominions in the south. To a dispassionate observer it must have looked highly probable that the Roman Church, undermined in these, its last strongholds, would soon topple. But this culminating catastrophe never took place. For one thing, the dominant Lutherans were of too lax a temper to make the best of their opportunities, and in the second place, in the very nick of time the Catholic Counter-Reformation reached Germany, and instilled into the dying cause a new vigor.

The Catholic reaction.

We have already taken note of how the Jesuits and the Council of Trent steadied the wavering Catholic ranks all

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over the world. This effect did not make itself felt in Germany until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Rudolph II. (1576–1612) was upon the throne. Breaking away from the moderate policy of his immediate predecessors, he set his heart on bringing the Roman Church once more to the front, and did all in his power to favor his friends, the Jesuits. Operating from the court of Vienna as a centre, and also from that of Bavaria, whose ruling family was, if possible, even more narrowly Catholic than the Hapsburgs, the devoted followers of Ignatius Loyola gradually spread in every direction. Their churches multiplied, and their schools, conducted with energy and intelligence, were largely attended. Presently the Protestant advance was checked all along the line, and an energetic Catholic propaganda began to score triumphs in those doubtful regions, chiefly of the south, where Protestantism was as yet but a matter of isolated outposts.

Increasing tension.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the tension between the parties was nearing the danger point, and every new incident increased the probability of a rupture. The affair of Donauwörth indicated from what quarter the wind was now blowing over Germany. Donauwörth, on the upper Danube, was a free city, meaning, it will be remembered, that it governed itself like a small republic. The Protestant townsmen, being in the majority, ventured to break up a Catholic procession, for which deed the Emperor Rudolph put the city under the ban of the Empire, and commissioned the duke of Bavaria to occupy it with an armed force. This done, the Catholic worship was re-established and Protestantism put down (1607). It was a high-handed act and so excited the more radical Protestants that in 1608 they formed a Union to check similar aggressions.

The Protestant Union, 1608.

The duke of Bavaria met this measure by associating himself with a number of bishops and abbots in a Catholic League

The Catholic League, 1609.

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(1609). When men between whom no love is lost go about armed, the chances of a clash are greatly increased. Nevertheless, so general was the dread of civil war that, in spite of ever-increasing difficulties, the peace was preserved for another decade.

The outbreak in Bohemia, 1618.

The occasion that finally precipitated the long-expected conflict was furnished by Bohemia. Bohemia was a kingdom but recently added to the dominions of the House of Hapsburg. Its inhabitants were Germans and Czechs, the Czechs, a Slavic people, being decidedly in the majority. In the fifteenth century Bohemia had risen into European prominence through its great citizen John Huss, who initiated a reform movement in the Church, and was condemned for it to a heretic's death at the stake. The wild rebellion of the followers of Huss was after many failures put down, but the discontented province continued to be a likely field for revolutionary agitation. In consequence, when Luther lifted his voice in Saxony his words raised an echo across the border and made many converts. Nor was the movement much hindered by the authorities until Emperor Rudolph came to the throne. Devoted son of the Church that he was, he tried to suppress it, but, incapable and half insane, he only botched matters, and was in the end constrained to grant the Protestants a limited toleration in a charter of the year 1609. But both Rudolph and his successor Matthias (1612–19) carried out the terms of the charter grudgingly, and by many high-handed acts kept the suspicions of the Protestants alive. In the year 1618, angered beyond endurance by the duplicity of their ruler, they rose in revolt. The emperor resided at Vienna, and was represented at Prague, the capital of his Bohemian kingdom, by a body of governors. These the insurgents attacked, invaded their castle, and summarily tossed two of them, with their secretary, out of the window into the fosse below. It was a fall

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of sheer one hundred feet, but, wonderful to say, had no evil consequences. The grateful victims, on scrambling out of the ditch, ascribed their rescue to the intervention of the Virgin Mary, but sceptical Protestants called attention to the soft heaps of refuse which had accumulated in the moat. As soon as the deed was done, the insurgents set up a government of their own. Thus far the rebellion was a local Bohemian incident; but it proved to be the event which lighted the long-laid fuse and precipitated the great struggle known as the Thirty Years' War.

The periods of the Thirty Years' War.

Whoever makes a study of the Thirty Years' War will be struck by the fact that it is really not so much a single war as an aggregation of wars. It therefore falls naturally into different periods, designated by the question or power which is uppermost at the time. Five such periods are clearly distinguishable: the Bohemian Period (1618–20), the Palatine Period (1621–23), the Danish Period (1625–29), the Swedish Period (1630–35), and the French Period (1635–48). These divisions indicate how the struggle, beginning in Bohemia, spread like an infection, until it included all Europe. From Bohemia, where, we have seen, it had its origin, it ate its way into southern Germany into the region known as the Palatinate; this is the Palatine Period. Then slowly northern Germany and its nearest Protestant neighbor, Denmark, were drawn into its sphere: this is the Danish Period. And finally one and another foreign country was moved to take part, until the war, while continuing to be a German civil struggle, acquired something of the aspect of a world-clash between Protestantism and Catholicism, and something, too, of a duel between the two greatest reigning houses of Europe, Hapsburg and Bourbon.

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The Bohemian Period (1618–20).

The Bohemians appeal to the German Protestants.

The revolutionists at Prague had hardly set up their government, when they appealed to the German Protestants for help. The Lutherans of the north denied them even their sympathy, while the Calvinists, inhabiting chiefly the south and associated together in the Protestant Union, offered advice, but little help. The fact was that the Bohemians were in rebellion, and rebellion is a matter which conservative men will always treat with caution. There were, however, in the Union a number of flighty, sanguine characters, who were bent on striking, through the Bohemian matter, a blow at the Hapsburgs and Catholicism. Chief of these was the president of the Union, the Elector Frederick, ruling over the region called the Palatinate, of which Heidelberg was the capital. He began by giving the rebellion secret help, nursing the hope, meanwhile, that he would in the end be able to draw the Union with him. In this he was mistaken. The Union temporized, adopted a few useless measures, and before long dissolved itself. Its history is practically zero.

Ferdinand II., 1619–37.

Meanwhile, hostilities had begun between the emperor and his revolted subjects. They had not advanced far when the incapable Matthias died (March, 1619), and the Hapsburg dominions passed to a better man, Ferdinand II. He had been brought up by the Jesuits and filled by them with their devotion to the Church. He was small and feeble, with hooked nose, weak eyes, and thin hair—plainly not the captain of men who shakes the world with his ambitions. Nevertheless, where his convictions were involved this frail sovereign proved himself more immovable than men of a more heroic aspect. Having made sure of the attachment to himself of all the Hapsburg dominions save Bohemia, he set out for Frankfurt, where the assembly of German electors

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was convened, after the usual fashion, to name the successor of Matthias. Although three of the seven electors were Protestants, the electoral college so far accepted the time-honored ascendancy of the House of Hapsburg as to raise him to the imperial dignity. Having gained thus much, Ferdinand felt that he must strain every nerve to recover Bohemia. The case was rapidly becoming urgent, for almost at the same moment that he was acclaimed at Frankfurt, the Bohemian struggle had entered a new and more dangerous phase: the revolutionists had made an offer of the crown to the Elector Frederick. Frederick hesitated, torn between anxiety and hope, but in the end, spurred on by his ambition, set out for Prague, and on November 4, 1619, was crowned king.

The Elector Frederick becomes king of Bohemia, 1619.

While making preparations for a vigorous campaign, Ferdinand approached the Catholic League for aid. This organization, which was destined to play a very considerable rôle in the Thirty Years' War, was, in distinction from its rival, the Union, most efficiently managed by its president, Maximilian, duke of Bavaria. Maximilian proved himself, in the course of the war, to be the most capable sovereign of Germany. He had been brought up, like Ferdinand, by the Jesuits, and shared the new emperor's devotion to the Church. He tempered that devotion, however, with a statesmanship such as the imperial dreamer and bigot had no inkling of. From the moment of his accession he prepared for the coming crisis by laying up money and drilling an army. In the hard struggles of this world it is generally such men as Maximilian who succeed, men who exercise foresight and energetically carry through well-laid plans. Maximilian was thoroughly aroused over what he considered the Elector Frederick's usurpation, and did not require much coaxing to put his forces at Ferdinand's disposal.

Maximilian of Bavaria.

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The decisive Bohemian campaign of 1620.

In the year 1620 there followed the campaign which decided the fate of Bohemia. Was the country to remain Protestant under its new king, Frederick, or to be won back by the Catholics and handed over to Ferdinand? If the Protestants had had a different champion, their outlook might have been more brilliant. Frederick was a man of little brains, and such spirit as he had was largely supplied by his wife. What made greatly against his chances was that politically he stood alone. The Union, in spite of his appeals, did next to nothing, while among the Lutherans one man, the powerful elector of Saxony, acted with Ferdinand. The forces of the League, under the command of General Tilly, penetrated into Bohemia until they came within sight of the towers of Prague. They found Frederick's army drawn up on the White Hill to the west of the town, and the ensuing battle was a crushing defeat for Frederick, who fled for his life. The Jesuits had mockingly foretold that he would prove but a winter king, a man of snow, vanishing at the first ray of the sun, and they were right. Ferdinand, followed by an army of priests and Jesuits, took possession of Bohemia, confiscated the immense estates of the revolted nobles, and gradually forced the people back to Catholicism.

The Palatine Period (1621–23).

Seizure of the Palatinate.

The Bohemian episode was closed, and lovers of peace hoped that the war would now end. They were disappointed, for neither would the defeated Frederick give up his claims, nor could the elated Catholics resist the temptation to make the most of their victory. An entirely new cause of war was created when the emperor, egged on by his Jesuit advisers, deprived Frederick of his electoral title, and commissioned Maximilian, together with his allies, the Spaniards, to take military possession of the Palatinate. This

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looked dangerously like violence, especially as a Catholic army encamped among Protestants was sure to kindle fierce resentment. Frederick, with a little help from various quarters, made what resistance he could, but had to yield to the more disciplined troops of his adversaries. By the end of the year 1622 not a foot of his inherited states was in his possession. The emperor, victorious beyond his dreams, thought he could now dispose of the Palatinate as a conquered province. He transferred (1623) the electoral dignity from Frederick to Maximilian, duke and henceforth elector of Bavaria, and still further rewarded his ally by conferring upon him a part of the Palatine territory (the Upper Palatinate).

Alarm of Protestant Europe.

Meanwhile, Protestant Europe had watched with alarm the progress of the Catholic arms. The tie of religion was still so close that various Protestant powers, England, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, began to discuss possible measures for the relief of their German brethren. The leadership in any such concerted action would naturally fall to England, not only because England under Elizabeth had stepped to the front of the Protestant world, but also because the reigning English sovereign, James I., was the father-in-law of Frederick of the Palatinate, husband of the fair and ambitious Princess Elizabeth. James, to be sure, had counselled against the Bohemian adventure because he had an unreasoning aversion to rebellion, but when Frederick lost the Palatinate, too, he could not refuse to bestir himself in his cause. He began with the idea that an amicable adjustment was possible through the combined intervention in Germany of England and Spain, and planned in furtherance of this policy, a marriage alliance with the Spanish House. But the Spaniards negotiated only to gain time, waited till the Palatinate was safe in the emperor's hands, and then raised the price of their friendship. Hence-

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Failure of James of England's projected Protestant alliance.

forth James breathed war and planned a great alliance to wrest the Palatinate from the Catholics by force. Here, too, ill luck pursued him. The Dutch had in 1609 signed a truce with the Spaniards which had just (1621) expired. The renewed war with their old tyrants fully occupied their energies. Sweden, ruled by Gustavus Adolphus, listened, but proposed a plan that was not to James's liking. Besides, Gustavus had troubles with Russia and Poland, which seemed as much of a load as his shoulders could bear for the time being. There remained Denmark, and James signed a treaty with the king of that country, Christian IV., by which England promised to supply him with money in case he headed a Protestant attack. Mindful of the enmity between Hapsburg and Bourbon, James even approached France, and France, though a Catholic country, was willing to lend a hand; but unfortunately the Huguenot embers still smouldered, and Richelieu, who had just then acquired a dominant influence (1624), with characteristic caution resolved to attend first to matters at home. Before long England itself was paralyzed by domestic troubles, for James rashly involved himself in that quarrel with his people which led later to the great civil war, and which for the moment left him without funds, since his angry Parliament would put no money in his hands. The upshot of the vaunted European alliance was that the Danish king took up the war against the emperor single-handed, without so much as getting the promised money help from England.

The Danish War (1625–29).

Christian confronted by Tilly and Wallenstein.

With the entrance of Christian IV. into the war, the scene of action was transferred from the south to the north. Tilly, who still commanded the army of the League, moved against him, but Christian at first had the advantage of position and numbers. Just as he thought he had the situation

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in hand, a second Catholic army appeared and threatened his flank. Raised in the name of the emperor, this force was really the first *imperial* army put forward in this war—Tilly, it must always be remembered, was employed by the League—and was commanded by Wallenstein. Wallenstein was a Bohemian nobleman, who had remained true to Ferdinand, and who had been rewarded with immense estates taken from the defeated rebels. In order to make his master independent of the League, he had counselled him to raise an army of his own, and when the emperor pleaded poverty, Wallenstein lured him on with a plan by which the army should be self-supporting. The imperial general would simply oblige the magistrates of the districts which the army happened to be occupying, to furnish him with the supplies and ready money of which he stood in need. Such a system of forced contributions was not exactly plunder, but it was the next thing to it, and without urgent necessity the meek Ferdinand would never have given his consent to anything so irregular. Wallenstein at first exercised some restraint upon his men, but as the country grew poorer, it became harder and harder to squeeze support out of it, until the general was obliged to take whatever he could find. Naturally, his rivals were not slow in imitating him, with the result that there now began that awful harrying of Germany, the cold facts of which remain incredible to our ears and confirm the saying of a famous American general that war is hell. And this was only the beginning, for there were destined to be twenty and more years of this slow torture. A French historian has declared the fact that Germany did not become an out-and-out wilderness, one of the most extraordinary examples of endurance which humanity has furnished.

Wallenstein creates an imperial army.

A word concerning the armies of this age will not come amiss here. To begin with, they were not national but mercenary. A sovereign, wishing to raise a force, com-

The organization of an army.

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missioned a number of officers, who hired men at a fixed price wherever they were to be found. In consequence, an army was likely to look more like an international congress than anything else—all races, costumes, and languages were represented. The pay of both officers and privates was high, and an army cost, at least in salaries, relatively much more than to-day. A well-balanced force would be composed of infantry and cavalry in about equal numbers, the artillery being as yet a factor of no great account. The infantry was in part armed with rude muskets, but owing to the fact that a general still counted on winning a battle by the push of solidly massed squares, the more usual weapon of the foot-soldier was a pike, some eighteen feet in length. In preparation for a battle the cavalry was drawn up on the wings, while the infantry, with the clumsy and ineffective artillery corps in front of it, held the centre. All this looks rude and primitive from the twentieth century point of view, but it remains a noticeable fact that the modern science of war took its first infantile steps in this period, chiefly under the stimulus of Gustavus Adolphus. He increased his artillery pieces, turned them to better use, and developed in his troops a greater mobility both on the march and under fire.

The order of battle.

And now to return to the Danish War. Christian IV. was no match for the forces of Tilly and Wallenstein. A single campaign settled his fate. In 1626 Wallenstein defeated his lieutenant Mansfeld at the Bridge of Dessau, and in the same year Tilly crushed Christian himself at Lutter. Not only was Christian obliged to retire from Germany, but he was pursued into his own dominions, and had finally to take refuge in the Danish islands. He had every reason to be thankful when, in the year 1629, the emperor signed the Peace of Lübeck with him, whereby, in return for the promise not to meddle again in German affairs, he got back his Danish territories.

Christian defeated by Tilly and Wallenstein.

The Peace of Lübeck, 1629.

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Even before the Peace of Lübeck was signed, Wallenstein had overrun the whole Protestant north. Nothing seemed able to resist him. Capable, unscrupulous, and ambitious—the type of the military adventurer—his remarkable mind began to nurse designs so vast and intricate that they have never yet been entirely fathomed. In the main his plan appears to have been to establish the supremacy of the emperor by overawing the princes, both Catholic and Protestant. As such a revolution in the German system could be effected only by means of the army, of which he was head, he foresaw that the really dominant rôle in reunited Germany would be secured to him. But the plan was bound to encounter powerful obstacles. In the first place Ferdinand soon showed that he had no taste for the part of conqueror which Wallenstein assigned to him, and, further, all the princes, regardless of religion, arraigned themselves against the man who tried to diminish their importance.

The revolutionary plans of Wallenstein.

If we survey the German situation in the year 1629, the Catholic success seemed to be complete. In the Bohemian and Palatine stages of the war the Union had been scattered and south Germany occupied, while in the Danish stage, the victorious Catholic soldiery had penetrated to the shores of the North and Baltic Seas. In the length and breadth of Germany there was no force to resist the emperor and League, who thought they might now safely level a decisive blow at the Protestant religion. In March, 1629, Ferdinand published the Edict of Restitution, by which the Protestants were dispossessed of all Church territories seized by them since the Peace of Augsburg, signed three-quarters of a century before. The measure was a revolution. At a stroke of the pen two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and hundreds of monasteries passed, without regard to the wishes of the people, back into Catholic hands. The emperor had

Zenith of the Catholic triumph and Edict of Restitution, 1629.

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hitherto cajoled the Lutherans in order to keep them quiet while he crushed the more radical Protestants, but by this step he removed the mask. It was not Calvinism which he hated, but Protestantism of every variety. The Edict of Restitution is the high-water mark of Catholic success.

Imperial inconsistency. Wallenstein dismissed, 1630.

The policy laid down in the Edict of Restitution meant violence perpetrated upon every Protestant community in the land, and could be carried through only by an army. But almost simultaneously with its adoption the emperor was guilty of the fatal inconsistency of weakening his forces. In the year 1630 a Diet was held at Ratisbon (Regensburg). Here the long-pent-up opposition to Wallenstein found a voice. His misdemeanors were enumerated: his army exhausted the country, weighing on Catholic and Protestant alike, his imperial plans were revolutionary, and his personal ambition dangerous and boundless. A unanimous cry went up for his dismissal, which the timid emperor could not face. He deprived Wallenstein of his command at the very moment when the Edict of Restitution for the first time united Protestant opposition against him, and when a new power appeared on the scene to give a new turn to the war.

The Swedish Period (1630–35).

Gustavus Adolphus lands in Germany, July, 1630.

In July, 1630, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, landed on the Baltic coast at the head of an army. We have seen that some years before, when James I. of England attempted to create a great Protestant combination, Gustavus had declined to take a hand in it. He was at the time engaged in securing his position on the Baltic against the Poles. Since then Wallenstein's astonishing triumph in the north had filled the mind of the Swedish king with not a little alarm. He held the ambition of securing for himself the first place on the Baltic, of making, in fact, the Baltic a kind of Swedish lake, and here was Wallenstein apparently reviving

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the defunct Empire, carrying its banners into the north, and talking of launching a fleet upon the sea. Concerned about his safety, he resolved to enter the war for the purpose of driving the imperial forces out of northern Germany. But there was more than this in the bold enterprise of Gustavus. As an ardent Protestant he had sympathized from the first with the Protestants of Germany, but not till the publication of the Edict of Restitution did he feel that unless a blow were struck for it, Protestantism in Germany was doomed. Thus Swedish patriotism as well as love of religion spurred him to action. Did he act selfishly or unselfishly? An idle question the present writer thinks, since human actions cannot often be classified under such simple categories as good and bad, selfish and unselfish. Naturally, he acted as was demanded by his conception of the interests of Sweden. To have done otherwise would have been a disavowal of his responsibilities as head of the nation. But it was perfectly compatible with a national policy to entertain also a love of the Protestant religion. At any rate, although he penetrated into Germany as a conqueror, he rescued German Protestantism from destruction, and has ever since been sung and idolized by the Protestants of Germany, who have not hesitated to associate his name with that of Luther.

Gustavus and the Protestant princes.

Gustavus is the greatest figure of the Thirty Years' War, and succeeded during his brief presence on the stage in bringing into the barren struggle something of an epic movement. Let us follow his brilliant course. His first concern on landing in Germany was to secure the alliance of the Protestant princes, for their salvation, together with the safety of his Swedish kingdom, formed the double object of his coming. But here he encountered his first difficulties. The Protestant princes had, on account of the Edict of Restitution, little or no affection left for the emperor, but they hesitated about allying themselves with a foreigner and aiding him in

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getting a foothold in their native land. While Gustavus was in turn coaxing and threatening them, help came to him from another quarter. We have remarked that France, from ancient enmity against the Hapsburgs, had followed the German war with interest, but had been unable to interfere, owing to troubles with the Huguenots. By 1629 these troubles were dispelled, and Richelieu was free to follow a more vigorous foreign policy. His point of view was entirely untrammelled by religious considerations, being determined exclusively by his conception of the interests of his country. Imbued with the idea that the thing needful was to hinder the formation of a strong power to the east of France, he welcomed with open arms every enemy of the emperor. Gustavus could from the first count on his good-will, which in January, 1631, took the substantial form of an alliance—the Treaty of Bärwalde—wherein France agreed to pay the king of Sweden a considerable annual subsidy toward the prosecution of the war. With characteristic caution Richelieu would go no further for the present.

Alliance between Sweden and France, 1631.

The first operations of Gustavus were directed to the reduction of the strongholds of Pomerania for the purpose of acquiring a secure base for his campaign. While he was thus engaged, Tilly, who since Wallenstein's dismissal was at the head of the combined forces of the League and emperor, stormed and utterly sacked the great Protestant city of Magdeburg. The horror of the terrible massacre was heightened by the fact that the inhabitants, in their despair, themselves set fire to their town in order to bury themselves in its ashes. When the smoke and fury had passed, the cathedral alone was seen solemnly towering over the ruins. This deed turned Protestant sentiment more strongly than ever toward Gustavus, and when, shortly after, Tilly wantonly invaded Saxony, the elector of Saxony, the greatest of the Protestant princes, put an end to his indecision. Together with

Sack of Magdeburg May, 1631.

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the elector of Brandenburg, and followed by many minor princes, he entered into an alliance with Sweden, which so far secured the hold of Gustavus on the north that he was able to seek out Tilly for a decisive encounter. In September, 1631, a great battle took place at Breitenfeld, near Leipsic, in which Swedish generalship and discipline astonished the world by utterly defeating the veteran army of Tilly.

Saxony and Brandenburg join Sweden.

The victory of Breitenfeld laid all Germany at the feet of Gustavus. Never was there a more dramatic change. The Catholics, who a year before had held the reins in their hands, were now in exactly the same helpless position in which the Protestants had found themselves. Gustavus, received everywhere as a deliverer by the Protestants, marched without opposition straight across Germany to the Rhine. In the episcopal town of Mainz he took up his winter quarters. What more natural than that in the presence of a triumph exceeding all expectations, his plans should now have soared higher? With Sweden safe and German Protestantism rescued, his expedition had secured its original objects. But as he looked around and saw Germany helpless at his feet, visions arose of himself as the permanent champion and head of the Protestant section of the German people. The ambition was tempting, but before he could give it a precise form there was practical work to do. As long as Bavaria and the Hapsburg lands were unconquered, he could not hope to be unquestioned arbiter in Germany.

Gustavus takes winter quarters on the Rhine.

In the spring of 1632 he again took the field, aiming straight at the country of his enemies. At the river Lech, Tilly opposed him with the remnant of his forces, only to have them annihilated and be himself killed. Therewith Bavaria was at the great Swede's mercy, who now entered its capital, Munich, in triumph. His next objective, naturally, was Vienna and the emperor. If he could enter

Gustavus in Bavaria, spring, 1632

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Vienna, opposition would be crushed and all Germany would become his prize. In this critical situation Ferdinand turned to the one man who seemed capable of averting the final doom—Wallenstein. That general, since his dismissal, had been sulking on his estates. When Ferdinand's ambassador besought him for aid, he affected indifference, but at length allowed himself to be persuaded to collect an army upon condition that he should be given unlimited control. As soon as the famous leader floated his standards to the wind, the mercenary soldiery gathered round them.

Wallenstein.

The battle of Lützen, November 16, 1632.

In the summer of 1632 Wallenstein and Gustavus, the two greatest generals of their day, took the field against each other. After long, futile manœuvring around Nuremberg, the two armies met for a decisive encounter at Lützen, not far from Leipsic (November, 1632). After the trumpeters had sounded the hymn of Luther, "A Mighty Fortress is our God," and the whole army had knelt in prayer, Gustavus ordered the attack. The combat was long and fierce, but the Swedes won the day; they won, but at a terrible cost. In one of the charges of horse, the impetuosity of Gustavus had carried him too far into the ranks of the enemy, and he was surrounded and slain.

Death of Gustavus.

Degeneration of the war on the death of Gustavus.

With the death of the king of Sweden all higher interest vanishes from the war. His great achievement had been this: he had saved the cause of Protestantism in Germany; that is, he had saved a cause which, however narrow and unattractive in some of its manifestations, was an important link in the movement of human freedom. But he left Germany in hopeless confusion. The rage between Protestants and Catholics, now almost unappeasable, was complicated by the territorial greed of the princes, and as if such misery were not enough, foreign powers took advantage of the impotence of the nation to appropriate some of its fairest provinces.

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Wallenstein's treason and death, February, 1634.

On the death of Gustavus, Wallenstein was the great figure among the leaders of the war, and Wallenstein, a man not without large views, resolved to strive for a general pacification on the basis of toleration for the Protestants. As he felt that he could never win the emperor and his Jesuit councillors to such a plan, he proceeded secretly, and thus laid himself open to the suspicion of treason. If his army would have followed him through thick and thin, he might have defied the emperor, but some loyal colonels, shocked at the idea of turning against the head of the state, formed a conspiracy against their general, and in February, 1634, murdered him in the town of Eger, before he had effected any change in the situation.

Swedish interests directed by Oxenstiern

Meanwhile, the Swedes were doing their best to retain the extraordinary position which Gustavus had won for them. The political direction fell into the hands of the Chancellor Oxenstiern, who ruled in the name of Gustavus's infant daughter Christina, while the military affairs were on the whole very creditably managed by various generals whom Gustavus had trained. But in 1634 the Swedes were signally defeated by the Imperialists at Nördlingen and had to evacuate southern Germany. With fortune smiling once more on the emperor, he resolved to take a really sincere step toward peace. Calamity had taught him to moderate his demands, and he declared to the elector of Saxony his willingness to sign with him a treaty of peace, to which all Protestants should be invited to accede, on the basis of a virtual withdrawal of the obnoxious Edict of Restitution. The proposition was formally accepted at Prague in May, 1635, and such was the longing for peace, that it was welcomed, in spite of its shortcomings, by nearly all the princes of Germany. If Germany had been left to itself, peace might now have descended upon the harried land, but, unfortunately, the decision between peace and war had by

The emperor comes to terms with the elector of Saxony, 1635.

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this time passed out of German hands and now lay with those foreigners whom the division of the Germans had drawn across the border. It was too late in the day to bid Sweden be gone, especially as France, after having contented itself thus far with granting Sweden money aid, now entered the struggle as a principal. The favorable hour, which Richelieu had patiently awaited, had struck at last. The battle of Nördlingen, followed by the Peace of Prague, had left the Swedes so weak and isolated that they made a frightened appeal to France. Richelieu strengthened the alliance with them and sent a French army into the field. Therewith the war had entered a new phase.

The French Period (1635–48).

Richelieu in alliance with Sweden and the Dutch against the two branches of Hapsburg.

From now on the war was an attempt on the part of the allies, Protestant Sweden and Catholic France, to effect a permanent lodgment in Germany. The word religion was still bandied about, but it had no longer any meaning. Richelieu's opportunity to weaken the House of Hapsburg had come, for which reason, while he attacked it in Germany, he resolved also to face that branch of it established in Spain. The Spanish Hapsburgs were at that time involved with the Dutch Republic, the old struggle having been renewed in 1621. In the very year (1635) in which Richelieu entered the German war, he formed a close union with the Dutch and declared war against Spain. Thus the leading aspect of the Thirty Years' War in its last phase is that of an immense international struggle of the two Houses of Hapsburg and their friends against the House of Bourbon and such allies as it could muster.

The French and Swedish plan of campaign.

The German campaigns of the French Period consist of a patient forward thrust across the Rhine on the part of France, and a steady movement southward from the Baltic

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on the part of Sweden. The object of the allies was to crush the emperor between them. It remains a matter of astonishment that that sovereign, exhausted as he was and ill-supported by the German people, who had fallen into a mortal languor, should have made so stubborn a resistance. In the early years he even won some notable successes. But year after year the French and Swedes fastened upon his flanks and with each season he found it more difficult to shake them off. The nation meanwhile, sucked dry by a soldiery which had grown insensible to every appeal of justice and pity, was dying by inches. The cities fell into decay, the country became a desert. In view of the certainty that the product of labor would become the booty of marauders, nobody cared to work. So the people fell into idleness, were butchered, or died of hunger or of pestilence. The only profession which afforded security and a livelihood was that of the soldier, and soldier meant robber and murderer. Armies, therefore, became mere bands organized for pillage, and marched up and down the country, followed by immense hordes of starved camp-followers, women and children, who hoped, in this way, to get a sustenance which they could not find at home.

The long agony of Germany.

Accumulated disaster finally brought the emperor to terms. The forces of France had been growing gradually stronger and stronger, and under the leadership of the fiery prince of Condé and the gifted strategist Turenne penetrated far into southern Germany. The honors of the last campaigns rested entirely with them. The emperor saw that it was useless to attempt to turn these strangers from the gates, and accepted the decree of fate. But it was not Ferdinand II. who bared his head to receive the blow. He had been succeeded, on his death in 1637, by his son, Ferdinand III. (1637–57), who opened negotiations with France and Sweden, and after wearisome delays, brought

French and Swedish victories bring the emperor to terms.

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them to a successful termination in 1648, in the Treaty of Westphalia.[1]

The main sub-heads of the Peace of Westphalia.

The Peace of Westphalia is, from the variety of matter which it treats, one of the most important documents in history. First, it determined what territorial compensation France and Sweden were to have in Germany for their victories over the emperor; second, it laid a new basis for the peace between Protestants and Catholics; and third, it authorized an important political readjustment of Germany. All these points will be considered separately.

Cessions made to Sweden and France.

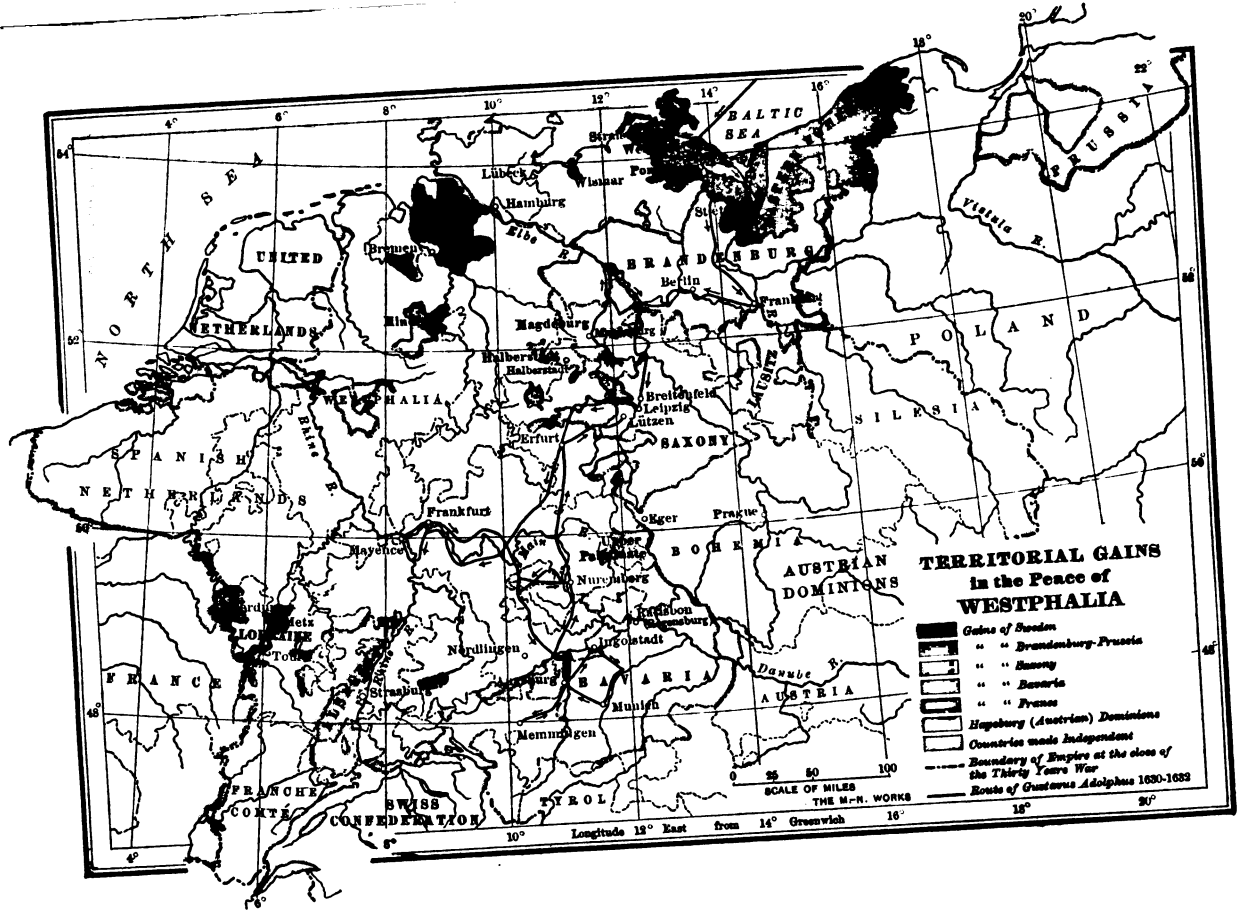
As to the first point, Sweden received the western half of Pomerania, and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden. By these possessions she was put in control of the mouths of the rivers Oder, Elbe, and Weser, and therewith of a good part of the ocean commerce of Germany. France was confirmed in the possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which she had acquired under Henry II. (1552), and received, in addition, Alsace, securing therewith a foothold on the upper Rhine. The free city of Strasburg, however, was expressly excluded from this cession.

Dispute about Church lands settled in favor of the Protestants.

Turning to the second head, the great question was how to settle the seizures of Church property which the Protestants had made since the Peace of Augsburg. The Catholics, it will be remembered, had always held that these seizures were illegal, and by the Edict of Restitution of 1629 the emperor had ordered their surrender to the Roman Church. In the peace negotiations the Protestants demanded that their brethren in the faith be restored to all the possessions which they held in 1618, the year when the war broke out, but they compromised at last on the year 1624. Whatever was in Protestant hands on the first of January of

[1] The Peace of Westphalia receives its name from the province of Westphalia on the Rhine, embracing the two cities of Münster and Osnabrück, in which the plenipotentiaries of the powers met.

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that year was to remain Protestant; what was in Catholic hands was to be reserved to the Catholics. This settled the question of the disputed lands in the main in the Protestant interest, but involved a concession to the emperor in so far as it sacrificed Bohemia to Catholicism. Concerning Calvinism no further difficulty was made, for the faith was put, in the eyes of the law, on the same footing as Lutheranism.

Political disruption of Germany.

Under the third head it is necessary to note a variety of political and territorial changes within Germany. First, the princes were given a number of new sovereign rights, among others the right of forming alliances with each other and with foreign powers. Therewith the decentralization of Germany was completed, and the single states made as good as independent. If the emperor was weak before, he was now no more than the honorary president of a congress of sovereign powers. Of three of these constituent states of the Empire, the Palatinate, Bavaria, and Brandenburg, a word remains to be said. The Palatinate, which the emperor had confiscated in the early stages of the war, was restored in a mutilated condition to the son of the elector and winter king of Bohemia, Frederick. At the same time this son was recognized as the eighth elector, for the dignity which had been transferred to the duke of Bavaria was not restored. Bavaria, under its elector, Maximilian, had played the most effective part of any German principality in the war, and its increase in power was in strict accordance with merit. From this on Bavaria aspired to the leadership in southern Germany, while the leadership of northern Germany was, as a result of the Peace of Westphalia, practically secured to the elector of Brandenburg. Brandenburg received additions of territory —eastern Pomerania and four bishoprics—constituting a possession so considerable as to enable it to replace Saxony at the head of Protestant Germany and to give it a position

The Palatinate.

Bavaria.

Brandenburg.

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second only to that of Austria. From this on the rebirth of Germany would depend on the ability of some one prince or line of princes to accomplish the task of unification wherein the emperor had failed. The fate ruling nations assigned this task to the House of Brandenburg, which achieved it by steps forming henceforth the leading interest of German history.

Switzerland and the Netherlands.

As a last curious detail it may be added that Switzerland and the Dutch Netherlands (Seven United Provinces), which had once been members of the Empire, but had long ago won a practical independence, were formally declared sovereign and free from any obligations to that body.

Effect of the war on Germany.

Germany, after her insufferable crisis, lay insensible and exhausted. Perhaps the contemporary stories of the ruin done by the war are exaggerated; in any case it is certain that the country took more than a hundred years to recover from its disasters. In some respects, doubtless, it has only lately recovered from them. The simple fact is, that the material edifice of civilization, together with most of the moral and intellectual savings of an ancient society, had been destroyed, and what was left was barbarism. The generation which survived the war had grown up without schools, almost without pastors and churches, and to its mental and moral deadness it added, owing to the long rule of force, a disdain for all simple and honest occupations. Respecting the disaster wrought by the war, figures help us to realize the terrible situation. Augsburg, the great southern centre of trade, had had 80,000 inhabitants; the war reduced the city to a provincial town of 16,000. Thousands of villages were destroyed, whole districts were depopulated. In Brandenburg one could travel days without meeting a peasant; in Saxony bands of wolves took possession of the empty villages. In general, the population of Germany fell from one-half to one-third of the numbers before the war.

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The Peace of Westphalia dealt with so many matters, not only of German but also of international interest, that it may be looked upon as the basis of European public law till the French Revolution. We may also take it to mark a turning-point in the destinies of civilization. From the time of Luther the chief interest of Europe had been the question of religion. Europe was divided into two camps, Catholicism and Protestantism, which opposed each other with all their might. In the Peace of Westphalia the two parties recorded what they had gradually been learning—which was, that such a fight was futile, and that it was the part of wisdom to put up with each other. Almost imperceptibly men's *minds* had grown more tolerant, even if the *laws* were not always so, and this is, when all is said, the more satisfactory progress. The best proof of the improved state of the European mind toward the middle of the seventeenth century is offered by the practical application of this very peace instrument. The toleration there granted was merely of the old kind—each prince could settle the religion of his principality without any obligation of tolerating dissidents—yet, persecution of individuals was henceforth the exception, and not the rule. It would be an exaggeration to say that the principle of toleration had now been conquered for humanity, or that the squabbles for religion's sake ceased in the world, but it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that toleration had won with the Peace of Westphalia a definite recognition among the cultured classes. During the next one hundred and fifty years the principle filtered gradually, through the literary labor of many noble thinkers, to the lowest strata of society, and became in the era of the French Revolution a possession of all mankind.

The Peace of Westphalia closes the period of religious wars.

The principle of toleration.

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PART II

THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

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CHAPTER XI

THE STUARTS AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

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The Scottish king becomes king of England.

WHEN Elizabeth died in March, 1603, she was succeeded by the son of Mary Stuart, who had been king of Scotland almost from his birth under the name of James VI., and figures among English monarchs as the first of that name.

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This accession opened the prospect of an effective union between England and Scotland, which a few far-sighted statesmen had long advocated. However, the plan encountered opposition. So deep-rooted were the long-standing antagonisms and jealousies of the two nations that they refused to consolidate their institutions and fortunes, though James himself gave his ardent adhesion to the plan. In consequence, Scotland kept its own Parliament and officials, and the accession of James did nothing more for the present than give England and Scotland a common sovereign.

Character of James.

It was unfortunate that at a time when the sovereign exercised enormous power the crown should have descended to such a man as James. He had an ungainly figure, a shuffling gait, distasteful personal habits, and was obstinate, weak, and cowardly. A person less royal to look upon had not sat upon the English throne in many a century. He had crammed himself with a considerable stock of knowledge, which had not matured into wisdom, and which he prided himself on exhibiting upon every occasion in order to hear himself acclaimed by the flattering courtiers as the British Solomon. His display of pedantic information brought down upon him from Henry IV. of France the remark that he was the wisest fool of Christendom.

His conception of his office.

All this would have merely exposed him to more or less amiable ridicule if he had not made himself really dangerous by holding the most exaggerated idea of his royal office. It was he who first carried into English politics the theory of the Divine Right of kings. The English Constitution, which had grown from the seed of Magna Charta, vested the government of the realm in king and Parliament. Such was the system at the end of the War of the Roses. During the Tudor Period the Parliament had been eclipsed by the king but was by no means abolished. Its rights, which were partly in abeyance, might be reassumed, and probably would

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be at the moment when the sovereign wantonly provoked the nation. And that was exactly what James did. Not content with the *substance* of absolutism, which he inherited from the Tudors, he desired also the *name* of it, and asserted his claims in terms so boundless that he seemed almost to be making a business of rousing opposition. On one occasion he edified his hearers with the following typical pronouncement: "It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do; . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that." The Tudors, as has been said, held a similar theory, but they came at the time of a great national crisis and acted in the main in close harmony with the people. If James undertook to act against the people and their real or supposed interests, he might find his position challenged, and drive the nation to take refuge in the older conception of monarchy which the Tudor absolutism had supplanted. This development James brought about, precipitating thereby a struggle between himself and his people, based on two different conceptions of the English kingship.

The foreign and domestic situation at James's accession.

The accession of James occurred amid circumstances which augured a happy reign. The defeat of the Spanish Armada had placed the independence of England beyond question, and subsequent events had so weakened Spain as to remove all danger from that quarter. In consequence, James wisely inaugurated his rule by a favorable treaty of peace. In domestic affairs the great question was, What would be the attitude of James toward the Anglican Church, established by Elizabeth on the basis of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity (1559)? At her death her creation had acquired an air of permanence. The Catholics were a waning power, and the Puritans, who inclined toward Calvinistic views, called for only a few concessions, based chiefly on their aversion to the surplice, kneeling in service, and similar

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externals. It must be remembered that they were as yet very friendly to the national Church, accepted the religious headship of the sovereign and the Episcopal form of government, and merely believed in the simplification or purification, as they called it, of divine service. If James would know how to conciliate them, the religious troubles of England might be accounted as over.

James and the Puritans.

But James did not know how to conciliate them. Shortly after his accession in 1604 he called a conference at Hampton Court for the purpose of discussing a document they had sent in, called the Millenary Petition, from the fact that a thousand clergymen were supposed to have adhered to it. Unfortunately, he lost his temper during the debate and flared up wildly against the Puritans. He declared that they were secret enemies of Episcopacy—which they were not—and affirmed with unnecessary emphasis that that system of Church government had his entire support. His personal venom becomes explicable when we remember that he had been brought up in Scotland, where he had made the acquaintance of the Presbyterian system, by which the Church was withdrawn from the control of the king and bishops and put in the hands of the ministers and the people. In England he was delighted by the discovery that the sovereign ruled the Church through the bishops, and was jealously on the lookout against the importation of Presbyterian ideas. The cause of the bishops he identified with his own cause, and formulated his belief in the epigrammatic assertion, "No bishop, no king." Now the Puritans were emphatically not Presbyterians, but because they advocated a few changes savoring of radicalism James chose to regard them as such. Acting on this assumption he dismissed the petitioners at Hampton Court gruffly, and shortly after ordered every clergyman who refused to meet exactly and literally the prescriptions of the Book of Common Prayer

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to be removed from his living. In this way the king made it clear that his manner of conciliating the Puritan opposition was to drive it from the Church.

The gunpowder plot, 1605.

Toward the Catholics, whom James regarded with a tolerance much in advance of his time, he followed a temperate but unsuccessful policy. He began by holding out a prospect of lightening the burden of persecution, but when he failed to carry out his promises, owing to the pressure brought to bear upon him by his Protestant subjects, a group of desperate Catholics, enraged beyond endurance by the withdrawal of the one ray of hope which had shone upon them in many a day, planned to destroy the whole Protestant government, king, Lords, and Commons, by one gigantic stroke. They heaped gunpowder in barrels in the cellars beneath the House of Lords, and set November 5, 1605—the day of the opening in state of a new session—for the monstrous crime. Suspicion, however, had been awakened through a letter of warning sent by a conspirator to a relative who was a member of the upper house; and luckily, on the very eve of the planned disaster, Guy Fawkes, the hardiest of the conspirators, was discovered keeping watch among the explosives. He and his helpmates were hunted down and executed with all the barbarity characteristic of the period, and the English people were once more confirmed in that intense hatred and distrust of the Catholic faith which long remained the first article of their religious and political creed.

James's second difficulty—the Parliament.

Such was the relation of James to the religious question—the ritualistic wing of the national Church was vigorously sustained, the Puritan or reform wing was opposed and insulted, and the Catholics, not without a decent reluctance, were persecuted and crushed. However, the situation would not have become desperate, if James had not created a second difficulty by antagonizing his Parliament. To understand the development of that conflict, we have but to

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remember that to the practical absolutism of the Tudors, to which he had fallen heir, he wished to give the force of theory and of law.

The question of the finances.

The quarrel began almost immediately. James needed money, partly for legitimate expenses, partly because he was extravagant. The required revenues had, of course, to be voted by Parliament, and if that body had been managed after the Tudor fashion, it would have granted supplies as readily as in the days of Henry or Elizabeth. But James's talk about a monarch being above the law had aroused suspicion, and the Parliament delayed. The king, thereupon, in a huff, began to help himself by arbitrarily increasing the duty imposed on certain articles of import and export. This is called the question of the impositions. When a merchant named Bate refused to pay, he was arrested, tried, and sentenced by the judges. Thus James triumphed, but the victory only added a limited amount to his revenue, did not settle the financial difficulties, and exasperated the Parliament so greatly that it prepared to oppose every demand, reasonable or unreasonable, which the king might make. The result was that James dissolved one Parliament only to find its successor still more unwilling to bow to his dictation. Out of what was originally a simple matter of supplying revenue for the crown's outlay, had grown by James's mismanagement an issue, at the core of which was, as everybody began to see, the all-important question of who controlled the resources of the country, the king or the Parliament. From that to the question of which was the stronger of the two was but a step, and that step might mean war.

Impeachment of Bacon, 1621.

Over this issue and others coupled with it James quarrelled with his Parliament throughout his reign, with the result of an increasing irritation on both sides. In the year 1621 the wrath of the Commons reached the point of a

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savage attack on the whole administration, culminating in the impeachment of the highest judge in the realm, the Lord Chancellor. This was none other than the philosopher Francis Bacon, one of the greatest Englishmen of that or any age. By taking fees from suitors while their cases were still pending before him, he had become technically guilty of bribery. His excuse was that the acceptance of gifts was a long-established custom of his office, but with the candor we might expect from such a soul, he avowed that the practice was indefensible. "I beseech your Lordships," he added, "to be merciful to a broken reed." Bacon was fined and dismissed from office, the sentence being declared by himself "just, and for reformation's sake fit," but his disgrace would never have befallen him if he had not stood near the king, and the Parliament had not been set on reaching the monarch through his servants.

The revival of impeachment.

Bacon's trial took the form of an impeachment, in itself an ominous sign that the Parliament was raising its own claims as the best answer to the king's attempt to exalt his position. Impeachment was a means by which, in earlier times, the Parliament had exercised control of the king's advisers, but which had become obsolete under the Tudors, when the humbled Parliament was obliged to abandon all influence upon the royal ministers. Its revival at this juncture meant that the Parliament was furbishing up the old weapons with which it had once held the monarchy in check. An impeachment was a somewhat complicated process. The House of Commons appeared at the bar of the House of Lords to present to it the offender against the commonwealth, and the House of Lords, after listening to the charges, decided whether they were founded or unfounded and pronounced sentence accordingly. The bearing of the impeachment of Bacon was not lost upon James, who vaguely divined that a serious struggle was at hand.

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James's foreign policy.

The unpopularity caused by his treatment of the Puritans and his quarrel with the Parliament was increased by the foreign policy of James. We have remarked that almost immediately on his accession he had concluded peace with Spain. Not satisfied with this, he resolved to further the cause of religious peace in Europe by maintaining a close friendship with his late enemy. But such a policy, creditable to his Christian temper, would depend for its success on Spain's willingness to meet him half-way. The test came in the year 1618. In that year occurred the Bohemian incident, which led to the Thirty Years' War. James was interested in that famous struggle not only because Protestantism once more locked horns with Catholicism, but also more immediately because Frederick of the Palatinate, elected king of the Protestant faction of Bohemia, had married his daughter Elizabeth. In spite of these circumstances, however, he permitted Frederick to be driven out of Bohemia, and only when Frederick was expelled from the Palatinate, too, was his father-in-law roused sufficiently to make a weak appeal to Spain for help. That power was delighted to find him so docile, made temporizing proposals. but was at heart too glad of the Catholic success in Germany to do anything to check it.

Charles and Buckingham journey to Madrid.

Thus matters dragged on until the year 1623, when the young and handsome duke of Buckingham, who was the king's all-powerful favorite, proposed to take a last step to bind Spain to England in a close alliance and to secure the settlement of the Palatinate difficulty without war. He developed the plan of a secret journey with Charles, the prince of Wales, to Madrid in order to take the Spanish court, as it were, by storm, persuade it to affiance the Spanish Infanta to the English heir, and cajole it into signing the desired treaty of alliance. It was a plan as hair-brained as it was impolitic, but James, teased and wheedled by the two

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young men, at last gave his blessing to the enterprise. After many adventures Charles and Buckingham arrived at Madrid, but their reception was very different from what they had anticipated, and their hosts, although scrupulously polite, met them with evasion at every point. Utterly disgusted, they came back resolved to break with the useless policy of peace. James was plied till he consented to declare war against Spain, but died in March, 1625, before anything had been done.

American colonization.

The reign of James opens a significant chapter in English colonial history, for in 1607 the first permanent English settlement was planted in Virginia, and in 1620 the first band of radical Puritans, who had severed their connection with the Anglican Church and had at first taken refuge from persecution in Holland, set out across the Atlantic. From the valiant labor of these and subsequent bands of Englishmen who presently followed the Virginia and New England pioneers into the wildernesses of America, developed in time a number of prosperous colonies, the germs of that society which in the next century became the United States of America. Furthermore, in 1612 the East India Company, which had been chartered under Elizabeth, secured its first foothold in India. Thus, as soon as the victories of Elizabeth's reign had cleared the way, the Anglo-Saxon race planted the seeds of its expansion in the east and west, and laid the foundations of the English commercial supremacy of our day.

India.

Reign of Charles I. (1625–49).

Charles I.

Charles I., who succeeded James in the year 1625, was outwardly very unlike his father. His face, familiar to us from Van Dyck's frequent reproductions, was handsome and his manner kingly. Unfortunately he was liberally endowed with the Stuart traits of perversity and obsti-

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nacy and shared his father's exaggerated views of the royal prerogative.

Charles continues to antagonize Puritans and Parliament.

The two main difficulties created by James bore immediate and dangerous fruit in the new reign. James had roused the slumbering Puritanism of his subjects, and had raised the question with his Parliament as to who controlled taxation. Charles, by persisting in James's course of hostility to Puritans and Parliament, succeeded in an incredibly short time in developing the prejudices of his people into a violent opposition to himself, and in arousing the Commons, who had been servilely docile under Elizabeth and, even while protesting, had been deeply respectful under James, to the point where they plainly put the question: Who was sovereign in England, Parliament or king?

The rising tide of Protestant fervor.

Shortly after his accession Charles married Henrietta Maria, a sister of Louis XIII. of France. This marriage with a Catholic was extremely unpopular in England, and was rendered doubly so by the suspicion, only too well founded, that Charles had entered upon an agreement with Louis to offer the English Catholics his protection. When Parliament assembled, it showed immediately signs of restlessness, and presently grew still more excited on becoming aware that a small party of churchmen, closely associated with the court, were advocating views that seemed to savor of Romanism. These men were extreme ritualists, and were not favorable to Calvinistic views, being especially inclined to question the great doctrine of predestination. The king, by natural preference, supported them; and they, to show their gratitude, gave their adhesion to his theory of the royal prerogative. To the Puritans, who were falling into the usual exaggerations of party passion, such an association looked much like the alliance of popery and tyranny. They maintained with some justice that the Church of England had in doctrine held so far to a moderate Calvinism, and

The party cleavage.

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they followed this declaration with the charge that the ritualists were innovators and were preparing to carry the Church back to Rome. Naturally, the Puritans, who opposed Charles on ecclesiastical grounds, joined forces with the men who resented his political claims; and thus the absolutist and High-Church parties had no sooner united than the two oppositions, Puritan and parliamentarian, fused their interests. Under this alignment of parties and issues Charles's tumultuous reign began; and under this alignment the country, after fierce and prolonged controversy, embarked on civil war.

Tunnage and Poundage.

In view of the strained relations between king and Parliament, it is intelligible why the Parliament took a most unusual course with regard to the chief revenue of the crown, called Tunnage and Poundage. Tunnage and Poundage was the name given to certain duties on imports and exports, which were usually voted at the beginning of each reign for the whole period of the sovereign's life. Partly from occupation with other business, partly from desire to bring pressure to bear upon the king, the Parliament now failed to make the usual life grant, but Charles, who could not well carry on the government without Tunnage and Poundage, continued, through his officials, to collect it.

Disastrous management of the war with Spain.

While the clouds were gathering over England by reason of these domestic infelicities, Charles foolishly invited additional criticism over his management of foreign affairs. The war with Spain furnished the occasion. He had inherited it from his father, and was bent on prosecuting it with vigor. The Parliament was not unwilling to give him support—for the war with Spain was popular—but it naturally expected that the money which it granted would be spent in giving the Spaniards a sound beating. But Charles, with his customary lack of insight, intrusted the conduct of the war to the duke of Buckingham, once his father's fa-

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vorite and now his own, and the duke of Buckingham, who was handsome and dashing, but unfit for weighty business, reaped nothing but disaster. Two expeditions, one despatched toward the Rhine country and the other against Cadiz, ended in utter failure. Thereupon the Commons refused to give the king more money until the duke was removed from the council; and as the king refused to allow himself to be dictated to in the matter of his ministers, there ensued a deadlock which Charles ended abruptly by dissolving the Parliament.

War with France.

In the year 1627 matters grew worse. The king, not content with one war, allowed himself to be dragged into a conflict with France in behalf of the French Huguenots, who were being besieged by Richelieu in La Rochelle. As the Huguenots were hard pressed, and there was no other way of getting money for a rescuing expedition, Charles adopted a perilous device: he asked first for voluntary gifts, and when the nation failed to respond, forced the wealthy to make him a loan. When citizens could not or would not pay, he quartered troops upon them, and in order to frighten the bolder critics, arbitrarily arrested some of their number. Not only were these measures dangerous, but the sums thus extorted brought no blessing. A relief expedition which sailed for Rochelle under Buckingham failed as miserably as the attack upon Cadiz, with the discouraging total result that new disgrace was added to the ignominy already incurred in the war with Spain.

The Petition of Right.

The Parliament which met in 1628 was therefore amply justified in its outbreak of wrath against the government. Before granting another penny, it insisted that the grievances of the nation be redressed. In a document called the Petition of Right it made a formal assertion of its claims. The Petition of Right declared forced loans illegal, insisted that every man put under arrest should have a trial, and con-

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demned the use of martial law in times of peace, as well as the quartering of troops upon householders. As there was no other way of getting money, the king had to swallow the bitter morsel. The Petition of Right, celebrated as a renewal of Magna Charta, was accepted by him and became the law of the land (1628).

Murder of Buckingham.

The Petition of Right, by limiting the exuberant powers of the king, cleared the atmosphere and opened the prospect of peace. But, unfortunately, it did not settle all questions at issue between sovereign and legislature. Apart from the fact that the Tunnage and Poundage question was not disposed of by the Petition, the mere fact that Charles continued to shower favors upon the High Church element and to support the obnoxious Buckingham, was enough to keep public opinion at a high pitch of excitement. Proof of the degree of hatred which the party strife had reached was offered soon enough. While a new expedition to Rochelle was fitting at Portsmouth, a fanatic patriot, John Felton by name, assassinated the hated duke (1628). The king grieved over the loss of his favorite, but his policy remained obstinately unchanged.

The memorable session of 1629.

The Parliament of 1629 had no sooner come together than it reopened the combat. The members complained vehemently that the king had continued to collect Tunnage and Poundage, though the duty had not been voted, and they were no less wroth at his continued support of the ritualistic churchmen. Their leading orators showed such fury of resentment that Charles, in mingled alarm and disgust, determined to break up their session, but before the order of adjournment could be carried out, three indignant resolutions were put to the house, and, while the speaker was detained in his chair, carried by acclamation. The resolutions declared that whoever introduced innovations into the Church, or paid Tunnage and Poundage, was an enemy of the English people.

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The hopelessness of peace.

Thus, over the two questions of the ceremonial character of the Church and the control of Tunnage and Poundage, war was virtually declared between king and Parliament. In view of the dangerous excitement of the parties, there was small prospect of an amicable adjustment. One or the other, king or Parliament, would impose his theory, and the victor would be master and crush the vanquished.

Charles governs without the Parliament.

For the next eleven years (1629–40) the king had the upper hand by taking advantage of the extensive prerogatives accumulated by his predecessors. The central feature of his programme was that the presumptuous Parliament must not be given another opportunity to dictate to him. In this the laws played into his hands, for a king was not obliged to summon Parliament at stated intervals, and usually did not summon it unless he wanted a money grant. In fact, it should be clearly understood that Charles always prided himself upon acting within his rights as defined by the Constitution; not he, but the Parliament, was the disturber of the peace. But his plan of getting along without Parliament necessitated extreme economy and demanded the immediate termination of the expensive wars with France and Spain. Before the end of 1630 Charles had made his peace with these two powers. His outlook was now, on the whole, not unhopeful. Tunnage and Poundage, although condemned by the Commons, were regularly paid into the exchequer by a people who were not yet ready to renounce their king, and Tunnage and Poundage, with a number of other revenues regularly provided or scraped together by hook or by crook, were found to be sufficient for the current expenses of the administration.

Wentworth and Laud.

Charles's chief advisers during this eleven years' interlude of practically absolute government were Thomas Wentworth, for civil matters, and William Laud, for ecclesiastical affairs. As the king's person was still regarded with the old sacred

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respect, all the unpopular measures carried in Church and state during this period were laid at the door of these two men, who, as the years came and went without a Parliament, became the target of an unreasoning hatred.

The ecclesiastical policy of Laud.

Laud stood for the tendency in the English Church which emphasized dignity and ceremony—the same tendency with which the king had already identified himself. In fact, it was because of his own love of ceremony and uniformity that the king had bestowed his favor upon the inflexible and earnest churchman, had made him, first, bishop of London, and finally, in the year 1633, had appointed him archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England. Therewith Laud was in a position to put his own and the king's ecclesiastical convictions into practice. By means of parochial visitations and one-sided judgments pronounced in the ecclesiastical court, called the Court of High Commission, he soon imposed upon all the ministers of the Church a strict adherence to the forms of the Prayer Book, and did not even hesitate to go beyond them. Thus, at his instigation, the communion table was placed in the east end of the church, and by being surrounded with an iron railing was given, in Puritan eyes, something of the appearance of a Catholic altar. As a result of Laud's policy the Puritan ministers either resigned or were dismissed, and the Puritan element was reduced to an enforced silence. Even many Englishmen, who welcomed the new *régime*, deplored the unwisdom which shocked the most sacred sentiments of their Puritan countrymen and drove them into hostility to the national Church.

The political system of Wentworth.

Wentworth was a man of far greater intellectual powers than either Laud or Charles. His theory of government was that a king who governs well is better than a babbling, distraught Parliament. As a natural corollary, he held that the executive should be strong, efficient, large-minded, and

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should steer its course without fear or favor. This system of enlightened despotism he called by the name of "thorough." As one of Charles's favorite advisers he urged upon the king a firm stand against the exaggerated demands of the Parliament and the Puritans, but it would be a mistake to make him responsible for all the ill-advised measures which followed the dissolution of 1629, for as early as 1633 he was sent as Lord-Deputy to Ireland, and was out of direct touch with English politics for some years.

Ship-money.

Certainly Wentworth cannot be charged with the great blunder committed in connection with ship-money. We have seen that Charles's system left him in constant need of funds. So slim were his revenues that he could not even maintain a navy large enough to protect the English shipping. The legal remedy for the inconvenience would have been to call a Parliament and ask for supplies, but Charles would not take that step. He hit upon a subterfuge. In former times monarchs had, when the country was in danger, ordered the counties bordering on the sea to furnish ships. Charles issued such an order in the year 1634, with a certain show of legality; but in the years 1635 and 1636, against all law and precedent, he ordered the inland counties to contribute money to the same end.

The case of John Hampden.

Although a navy might be good in itself, plainly Charles's way of getting it was a piece of very sharp practice. Indignation swelled like an advancing tide, and when a country gentleman, John Hampden by name, preferred, rather than pay his assessment, to suffer arrest and trial, he made himself the hero of the hour. When the case came up in court, the judges by a bare majority decided against Hampden, but so general was the disaffection following upon his trial, that it required only an occasion to show that the loyalty which had bound England for ages to her royal house had suffered fatal impairment.

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That occasion was furnished by Scotland. In the year 1637 Charles, with his usual neglect of popular feeling, ventured to introduce the Prayer Book and some other features of the English Church into his kingdom of Scotland, a country which, as we know, was Presbyterian to the core. The answer of the Scots to this measure was an insurrection. They drew up a national oath or Covenant, by which they pledged themselves to resist to the utmost any attempt to change their religion. Their unanimity and enthusiasm gave them irresistible power. In view of it Charles at first hesitated, and to gain time proposed negotiations; but finally, when he found that he must either keep his hands off or fight, he chose the latter.

Charles interferes with the Presbyterian Church.

There followed the campaign of 1639 against the Scottish Presbyterians or Covenanters, which is known as the First Bishops' War, because, among other innovations, Charles planned to put the Scottish National Church under the rule of bishops. The campaign was a miserable fiasco. Owing to lack of funds, the king led northward a mere rabble, and when he came upon the Scots found himself compelled to sign a truce. Between his Scottish and his English subjects, whom he had alike alienated, his position was now thoroughly humiliating. In order to avenge himself upon the Scots, he required effective money help from England, and effective money help from England involved calling a Parliament. In one direction or the other he had, therefore, to make concessions. Charles fought a hard battle with his pride, but finally, feeling that the Scottish matter was more pressing, he summoned a Parliament (1640).

War with Scotland.

Thus the long period of government without a Parliament had come to an end. When, however, the Parliament, known as the Short Parliament, began, instead of voting money for the enslavement of the Scots, to remind the king of the nation's grievances, Charles flamed up as of old and dismissed it.

The Second Bishops' War, 1640.

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Once more, in spite of his lack of funds, he conducted a campaign, known as the Second Bishops' War, against the Scots (1640). But when the second experiment had failed as badly as the first, he had finally to acknowledge himself beaten.

The Long Parliament.

In November, 1640, he summoned another Parliament, which he felt he would not be able to send home at his will. It has received the name of the Long Parliament, and is the most famous legislative body in English annals. It sat for almost two decades, witnessing, and itself initiating, the transformation of England.

Triumph of the Parliament.

The Long Parliament was no sooner installed than it practically took the whole government into its own hands. The king's innings were over and it was now the turn of the rival power. Burning for revenge, the Commons turned first upon Laud and Wentworth, and ordered them both under arrest. Wentworth, who had lately been created earl of Strafford, was impeached for treason, but when the case against him threatened to break down, because the evidences of treason were insufficient, the Commons simply legislated him out of the world by a bill of attainder.[1] The frightened king to his lasting shame signed the act, and on May 12, 1641, sent the dauntless defender of the throne to the scaffold. The aged Laud was spared for the present, but in 1645 he also fell a victim to Puritan passion.

The king is stripped of his authority.

At the same time the Commons turned fiercely upon the grievances of the past. As the Scots would not leave England till their expenses had been made good to them, Charles, to get money, had to accept every bill. Naturally the Parliament pressed its advantage to the uttermost. The irregular courts, such as the Star Chamber and High Commission, which had furnished arms to the tyranny of king and Church, were abolished. The Star Chamber, it

[1] "An impeachment followed, in some sort, legal rules; a bill of attainder was an act of power for which no reasons need be given" (Gardiner).

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will be remembered, had been employed by Henry VII. against lawless nobles, but Charles had used it chiefly to silence inconvenient critics. Out of the mass of enactments similarly aimed at the king, we select the following: ship-money was declared illegal; the king's position in the Tunnage and Poundage issue was condemned; Charles had to agree that there should be at least one session of Parliament every three years (the triennial act), and was obliged to promise not to dissolve the present Parliament except at its own pleasure. Thus in a few months the mighty prerogatives which the sovereign had acquired in Tudor times had shrunk to a shadow. Could a king of Charles's obstinate and perfidious mind submit to such a terrible abasement?

Unanimity of the Parliament.

For nearly a year the king endured these restrictions. But he was watching his chance, and the first division among the Commons was his signal to strike. The Commons had agreed admirably on all the political questions at issue between themselves and the sovereign, but in the summer of 1641, when the religious issue was broached, ominous signs of division began to appear. Laud's insistence on ceremonies had created a strong sentiment against the bishops by whom the ceremonies had been enforced. In the Long Parliament there was a large body of men who believed that if the Church was to become really Protestant, the system of Episcopal government would have to be abandoned. But a powerful minority cherished a sentiment of loyalty toward the Church of their youth and deprecated radical changes.

Puritans and Episcopalians in the Commons.

Under the circumstances Puritans and Episcopalians in the Commons frequently came to hard words, and naturally, as soon as this opening in the hitherto solid phalanx of the opposition was apparent, Charles deftly took advantage of it. He threw in his lot with the Episcopalians, and so once more rallied about him a party.

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Charles attempts to arrest the five leaders.

In the assurance of renewed strength, he planned in January, 1642, to strike a blow at the predominance of Parliament. Summoning his troops, he marched to Westminster, and entering the chamber of the Commons attempted to arrest the five leaders, Pym, Hampden, Hazelrigg, Holles, and Strode. But the birds had flown, the city rose about him, and fearful for his safety he withdrew into the country.

The breach is complete.

The king's attempted violence was sure proof that he had no mind to bend his neck to the Parliament, and would rather resort to war than submit. Futile negotiations, kept up for a while, did not blind any one to the fact that the die was cast. In August, 1642, Charles, unfurling the royal banner at Nottingham, bade all loyal Englishmen rally to their king. The Parliament in its turn gathered an army and prepared to take the field.

Early successes of the king.

The parties about to engage seemed to be very equally matched. The king's party, known by the proud name of the Cavaliers, held most of the northern and western counties, while the adherents of the Parliament, derisively dubbed Roundheads because many of them cropped their hair close while their opponents wore theirs in fashionable curls, held the south and the east, with London for their centre. Neither side was well furnished with troops, but the fact that the slashing country gentlemen crowded into the king's service gave the royal side at first the advantage. In the early campaigns the armies of the Parliament suffered many reverses, and on one occasion London, the Parliamentary centre, almost fell into the king's hands. It was really not until the year 1644 that the Parliament began to develop an efficient army. Simultaneously there rose into prominence the man who was destined to overthrow the king and bring the war to a conclusion—Oliver Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell is one of those surprising characters who sum up in themselves a whole period of their nation's his-

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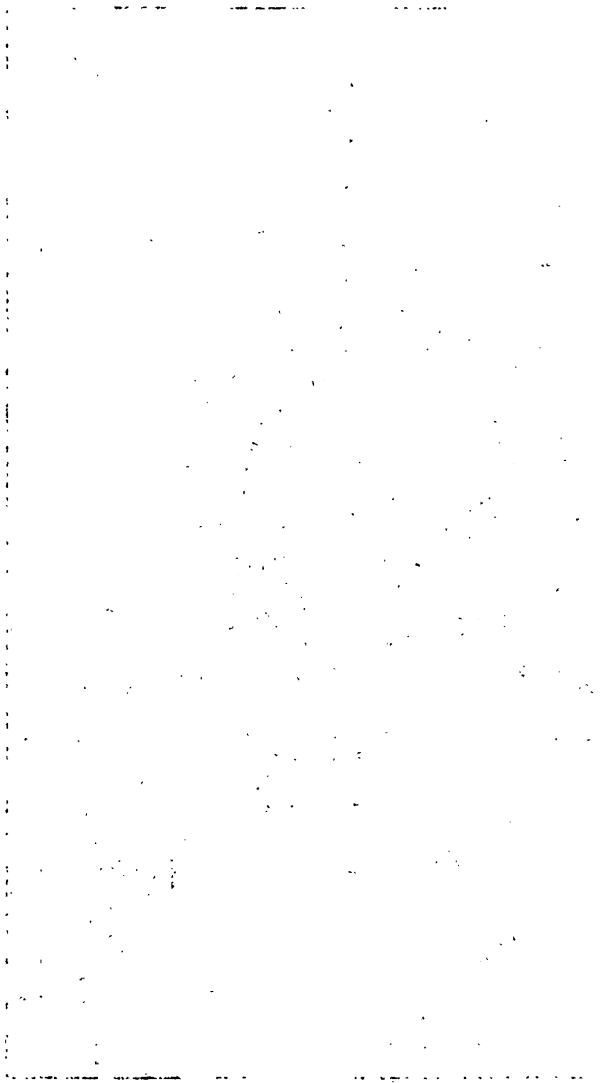
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NOTE TO THE STUDENT:

Observe that the King drew his support from the North and West, the Parliament from the East and South. This constituted an advantage for the Parliament because the East and South were the wealthiest districts; it is also a significant fact that the East and South were further advanced in civilisation.

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tory. He was a country gentleman of the east of England, whose life had become bound up in the Puritan cause. With moral firmness and religious enthusiasm he combined an extraordinary amount of practical good sense, which enabled him to see things exactly as they were. When everybody else was in consternation over the victories of the king and undecided what to do next, he went straight to the core of the military problem with which the Parliament was vainly wrestling. He thus expressed himself to his cousin Hampden: "Your troops are, most of them, old, decayed serving-men and tapsters. . . . Their troops are gentlemen. Do you think that the spirit of such base fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen? You must get men of spirit or else you will be beaten still." His good sense had discovered the thing needful, and his love of action urged him to do it, unmindful whether the distraught Parliament supported him or not. He took the field and gradually collected about himself a special troop of men of his own mind —earnest Puritans who had their hearts in the cause; and his troop soon won for itself the grim title of Cromwell's Ironsides.

The Ironsides at Marston Moor.

In the campaign of 1644 Cromwell's Ironsides first prominently showed their metal. On July 2, 1644, at Marston Moor, near York, was decided the fate of the northern counties, and here for the first time Cromwell's troopers charged through the hitherto invincible cavalry commanded by Prince Rupert, the king's nephew. When night descended upon Marston Moor, the king had lost his hold upon the north. At the battle of Newbury, which took place a few months later, it is probable that the king would have been crushed entirely if Cromwell had not been thwarted by his sluggish and incapable superiors.

Army reforms.

That winter Cromwell fiercely denounced in Parliament the lax method of carrying on the war which had hitherto

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prevailed; and so convincing were his criticisms that the Commons voted a number of sweeping reforms. By means of two ordinances, the Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model, the army was completely reorganized. By the Self-denying Ordinance members of Parliament gave up to trained soldiers the commands which they owed to favor and influence, and by the New Model the army was reorganized and put on a strictly professional basis. The spring of 1645 found Sir Thomas Fairfax at the head of the reformed forces, and the fiery Cromwell in command of the horse.

Naseby, June 14, 1645.

The effect of the change made itself felt at once; the campaign of 1645 proved decisive. At Naseby, in the heart of England, the king made his last formidable effort. The gallant Rupert plunged, as so often before, through the squadrons of horse opposed to him, but his reckless pursuit took him miles away from the battle-field, and before he could return, Cromwell had broken the king's left and centre and won the day. For almost a year the king still held out, vainly hoping for relief from this or that small circumstance. In May, 1646, judging that all was over, he surrendered to the Scots, who occupied the English north.

Alliance of England and Scotland.

How had the Scots been drawn upon the scene? Mindful of the king's hostility to their Presbyterian system, they had followed with sympathy the struggle of the English Puritans, and late in the year 1643, yielding to the solicitations of the Parliament, had signed a treaty, called the Solemn League and Covenant, and taken the field. Their aid proved of great value in crushing the king, but was given only in return for a grave concession: the Parliament was obliged to promise to put the English Church under the Presbyterian system of government. The Puritans owed their existence, we have seen, to the growing hatred of ceremony and Episcopacy; but now that ceremony and Episcopacy were overthrown and another system had to be found,

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a considerable number leaned toward Presbyterianism. A majority, it was found, could be had in Parliament for the religious concession demanded by the Scots, but a minority, calling themselves Independents, objected strenuously, holding that the possibilities of tyranny in the Presbyterian system were every whit as great as in Episcopacy, and contending vigorously for the toleration of any and all Protestant sects. But at the time the need of the Scottish aid was so great that the treaty was voted.

Presbyterians and Independents.

Though in the Parliament the Independents were a mere handful, they enjoyed an influence out of proportion to their vote through the circumstance that they commanded the powerful backing of Cromwell and the army. Under the circumstances the Parliamentary majority was obliged to proceed with caution, especially while the war continued and the troops had to be kept in good humor. Thus the contention slumbered for a time; but as soon as the battle of Naseby had been won and the enemy scattered, the quarrel between Presbyterians and Independents assumed a more serious aspect.

The king's calculation.

When the king surrendered to the Scots he was well informed of these differences of opinion among the victors, and hoped, in his small-minded way, to find his profit in them. Let the army, representing the Independents and their view of tolerance, only fall to quarrelling with the majority of Parliament, representing the Presbyterians and their system of religious uniformity, and his turn would come. While Parliament and army mutually consumed each other, he would step in and seize the spoils.

The Parliament tries to make the king accept a Presbyterian settlement.

Herein Charles calculated both well and ill. In the year 1647 the Scots surrendered him, on the payment of their campaign expenses, to the Parliament. The Presbyterians thereupon, having him in their power, tried to hurry through a settlement with the captive monarch. Utterly neglectful

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of the desire of the army for religious toleration, they promised Charles a restoration on easy terms if he would only give his royal assent to the Presbyterian establishment. The Scots meanwhile were carrying on a secret negotiation with the king, looking to the same end. The result of all these intrigues was another civil war, all for the benefit of the king. He might rub his hands in glee over the thought that he had set his enemies by the ears. In the result, however, Charles's petty calculations shot wide of the mark. Although the royalists rose, the Scots invaded England, and the Presbyterians aided the king as much as they dared, their combined forces were no match for the victors of Naseby. In a short campaign, conducted in the summer of 1648, Fairfax and Cromwell laid their enemies at their feet. The army was supreme in England.

The civil war of 1648.

Pride's purge.

Before attacking any other problem the army was resolved to settle its long-standing account with "that man of blood," the perfidious Stuart, by bringing him to trial. As the Presbyterian majority of the Commons objected to this course, it had to be swept out of the way. On December 6, 1648, a troop, under the command of Colonel Pride, expelled the Presbyterian members, to the number of about one hundred and forty, from the House. No more than fifty or sixty commoners retained their seats, who could hardly be expected to resist the army. They continued to exercise the duties of Parliament, but the people fixed upon them the contemptuous term of the "Rump."

Trial and death of the king.

The way was now cleared for the trial of the king; but as there was no provision in the law for such a step, it became necessary to resort to illegality. By an act of the servile "Rump" there was created a special High Court of Justice. The end, of course, was to be foreseen. The army, with Cromwell at its head, would not have proceeded to such extremes of violence if it had not been profoundly convinced

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that with this king, whose every act was a subterfuge, whose every word an equivocation, there could be no peace. The High Court of Justice found the king guilty of treason, and on January 30, 1649, he was executed on a scaffold erected in front of his own palace of Whitehall. He had never been shaken in the conviction that the right, during the whole course of the civil war, had been with him, and he died courageously in that belief. To awestruck royalists his death invested him with the halo of a saint and martyr who had perished in a vain effort to uphold the Constitution and the Church.

The army in power.

The king's death had been preceded by the dissolution of the House of Lords because of the refusal of that body to join in the prosecution of the king. The English Constitution, therefore, was now a wreck; king and Lords had disappeared, the Commons were a fragment. The power lay solely with the army, and the burning question of the day was whether the military revolutionists would be able to build a new constitution grounded in sound principles and acceptable to England.

The ideal of the Puritan republicans.

For eleven years the leaders of the army attempted with really noble zeal and sincerity to realize their ideal of government. That ideal was born of the deep religious conviction that every man must indeed be a follower of Christ, but that he should be allowed to worship after his own fashion. In consequence, Cromwell and his friends desired a government of upright Puritan men who tolerated every belief but Popery. Unfortunately, the vast majority of contemporary Englishmen were either Episcopalian or Presbyterian, and royalist to the core. Therefore the Puritan experiment, however nobly inspired, was doomed to end in failure.

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The Commonwealth and the Protectorate (1649–60).

The Commonwealth.

On the death of the king, the "Rump" voted that England was a Commonwealth without king or Lords, and appointed, provisionally, a Council of State to act as the executive branch of the government.

Cromwell conquers Ireland.

There was work enough ahead for the young republic. In Ireland the Commonwealth held no more than a few isolated outposts, while in Scotland, an allied kingdom, Charles II., the oldest son of the dead sovereign, had been proclaimed king. In the clear recognition that the Commonwealth could not live with Ireland and Scotland ranged against it, Cromwell was despatched to reduce the neighboring kingdoms to submission. In an irresistible campaign of the year 1649, he disposed of the Irish, after cowing their spirit by two bloody massacres at Drogheda and Wexford. Then a rule of force was established such as Ireland had not seen before, and a great part of the land was confiscated for the benefit of the conquerors. This done, the victor turned to Scotland. At Dunbar (1650) Cromwell's soldiers, whose tempers were like the steel with which they smote, scattered the Scotch army; and when a second army, with Charles II. in its midst, struck across the border in the hope of stirring up an English rebellion, Cromwell, starting in pursuit, met it at Worcester, in the heart of England, and won the crowning victory of his life (1651). Charles II. escaped, after various romantic adventures, to the Continent; but the Scots were compelled to recognize the Commonwealth and be merged with England in a single state.

Cromwell conquers Scotland.

Dismissal of the "Rump."

With peace reëstablished throughout the British dominion, the question of a permanent government became more pressing. Everybody clamored for a settlement and the termination of the long disorder. Only the "Rump" Parliament was in no hurry, and the fifty or sixty members who com-

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posed it not only clung to office, but even planned to perpetuate their power. Naturally, the soldiers, who wished to see practical results, watched the delays of the legislators with growing impatience. In April, 1653, their great leader, Cromwell, despairing of good from so narrow and selfish a body of men, resolved to have done with them. He invaded the "Rump" with a detachment of troops and ordered the members home. "Come, come," he shouted in indignation, "we have had enough of this. It is not fit you should sit here any longer." Thus the last fragment of the old Constitution vanished from the scene.

Barebone's Parliament, 1653.

A new Parliament, freely elected by the nation, would have been one solution of the difficulties which now confronted Cromwell. But such a Parliament would have immediately called back the Stuarts, and Cromwell was ready to try all other means before he declared that the great cause, which to his fervid mind was that of God Himself, had failed. In conjunction with a number of officers he therefore *nominated* an assembly of Puritan partisans who were to act as Parliament. In an opening speech he told them that they were called because they were godly men. But although they meant well, they were inexperienced and crotchety. The town wags, immensely amused at their provincial manners and ideas, called them Barebone's Parliament, from a certain worthy member whose evangelical name of Praise-God Barebone invited their ridicule. Luckily, after a few weeks a party among the nominees recognized their own unfitness and brought about the closing of the session (December, 1653).

The Protectorate.

As some government had to fill up the gap, the army officers now drew up a Constitution in forty-one articles, called the Instrument of Government, which placed the chief power in the hands of Oliver Cromwell under the title of Lord Protector. By the new Constitution the Lord Protector, to-

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gether with a Council of State, was to exercise the executive power, while a Parliament of a single House, from which all partisans of the Stuarts were excluded, was to perform the legislative functions of government. The new attempt came nearer than any of the others to being an equitable solution of the political difficulties into which England had been plunged; but, unfortunately, even the partial success achieved was accompanied by the disfranchisement of the royalists, and was primarily due to the fact that the new Constitution placed in control an entirely efficient man.

The domestic difficulties of the Protector.

The five years (1653–58) of Oliver's rule as Protector were beset with ever-recurring difficulties. His very first Parliament insisted on revising the Instrument of Government. As that was tantamount to calling the whole settlement in question, Oliver in high dudgeon dissolved the Parliament (January, 1655). For a while now he ruled without a legislature. There were frequent attempts upon his life, republican conspiracies, royalist risings, the cares and annoyances inseparable from rule. The Protectorate, with its one-man power, was, if possible, even more offensive to the strong republican element in England than to the royal adherents of the Stuarts. Oliver confessed with sorrow that "it was easier to keep sheep than to govern men." But his brave spirit was undaunted and he met every difficulty as it arose. He called a second Parliament in the year 1656, and with this he got along more smoothly for a while. The traditional English conservatism governed this assembly, and it tried to fall back upon the lines of the old Constitution. It created a second House to take the place of the abolished House of Lords and offered to make Oliver hereditary king. But Oliver, who had no love of baubles, and already exercised a virtual kingship as Protector, declined the dangerous title. When this same Parliament came up to London for a second session and followed a course in-

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compatible with the maintenance of the government, Oliver reproachfully dismissed it, like its predecessor (February, 1658). His bitter experience with his legislature must have convinced him, if he stood in need of proof, that the nation was not with him. Disguise it as he might, his rule rested upon the army and was a military despotism.

The failure of toleration.

In all this time the great principle of toleration, which Oliver had mainly at heart, made no progress. Oliver's original idea had been to give all Protestant Christians the protection of the law. But the fierce religious temper of the time prevented people from seeing any right outside of their own faith. Oliver, like all men who are ahead of their time, was left without support. The animosities of his antagonists, as well as of his followers, forced him, therefore, before long to trench upon his principles. In 1655 he began persecuting those who held to the Book of Common Prayer, and long before his end he had the bitter conviction that the government of the Puritan Commonwealth rested on no single principle that had taken root in the nation.

War with the Dutch, 1652–54.

If Oliver was thus reaping failure at home, he heaped triumph upon triumph abroad. From 1652 to 1654 there had been a war with the Dutch, caused by English jealousy of the immense commerce of the rival republic. The immediate cause of the rupture was a measure, called the Navigation Act (1651), devised to increase English shipping. As it was declared by this act that foreign ships could bring to England only such goods as were produced in their own country, the Dutch, who were carriers for the whole world, were dealt a severe blow. In the war that followed, the English, after a few preliminary losses, got command of the Channel, and Cromwell was enabled to sign (1654) a favorable peace which greatly strengthened his credit in the eyes of the world.

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Oliver makes war upon Spain.

Soon after, in 1655, Oliver made war upon Spain, finally going so far as to enter into an alliance with France against the common foe. Jamaica, in the West Indies, was taken from Spain by an English fleet, and Dunkirk,[1] in the Spanish Netherlands, after a victory of the allies on the Dunes, opened its gates to Cromwell's troopers. Since the days of Elizabeth, the name of England had not enjoyed such respect as it did now. Oliver's arm reached even to the Alps, and at his command the duke of Savoy ceased persecuting his Protestant subjects.

The death of Oliver.

Thus to the end the Protector held the rudder firmly. But his health was broken by his great responsibilities, and on the third day of September, 1658, he passed away. It had been his "fortunate day"—that was his own word—the day of the great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and was to his mind, heavy with the disappointments of his reign, perhaps no less fortunate because it brought the end of tribulation. His last prayer, in which breathes all his Christian fervor, all his honesty and charity, has been recorded for us. "Lord," ran a part of it, "Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do Thy people some good. . . . Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too."

Anarchy.

Cromwell's death was followed by a year of anarchy. As the Commonwealth was founded on the army and not on the consent of the people of England, its continuance depended on the army's finding a successor of the same metal as the great Protector. But that was impossible. Oliver was succeeded by his inoffensive and incapable son, Richard, who in May, 1659, resigned an office calling for powers which he did not possess. Then the "Rump" came back, once more pretending that it was the authoritative government of England. Sections of the soldiery

[1] Dunkirk was held only till 1662, when Charles II. sold it to France.

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disputed the claim and rose in rebellion. Clearly the only escape from the intolerable imbroglio was to call back the son of the dead king. The people themselves were more than willing, but to insure success some resolute man at the head of an armed force would have to take the initiative. The man wanted was found in General George Monk, one of Cromwell's most capable lieutenants and his representative in Scotland. Monk, at the head of his soldiers, came to London, and calling back the surviving members of the Long Parliament obliged them to dissolve after issuing writs for a new election. With the way thus cleared, Charles II. from his exile in Holland issued a general pardon, and when the new Parliament met was enthusiastically invited to mount the throne of his ancestors. The new Parliament declared that "the government of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by king, Lords, and Commons." When Charles entered London on May 28, 1660, the houses emptied their eager population upon street and square, and the reimpatriated king was cheered like a conqueror.

Monk calls back the Stuarts.

The Restoration. Charles II. (1660–85) *and James II.* (1685–88).

Charles II. was one of the most popular monarchs England ever had, but his popularity was due not so much to his virtues as to his vices. To understand this remarkable circumstance, we must remember that the Restoration is a general movement of reaction. It marks not merely a return from the Puritan experiment of government, but also a revulsion from the austere and colorless scheme of life which the Puritans had imposed upon society. Like one who had thirsted a long while, the Englishman of the Restoration threw himself greedily upon splendor and distractions. Now Charles II. had lived long in France, and there his self-

Character of Charles II.

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indulgent nature had drunk its fill of the gayety and licentiousness which characterized the sumptuous court of Louis XIV. Upon his restoration Charles became the apostle of French manners in England; profligacy became the fashion of the day, and the king added to his constitutional function of sovereign the far more congenial rôle of master of the revels. The country, out of sorts with the Puritan ideals, applauded, admired its sovereign's witty sallies and studied courtesy, and joined the dance and sounded the pipe around the "Merry Monarch" of an England once again resolved to be likewise merry.

His political opportunism.

Charles had a good deal of natural sagacity, but little energy and no moral fibre. In the end his resolutions usually succumbed to his indolence. His pleasures went before everything else, and when a conflict threatened with his ministers or Parliament, he was in the habit of giving way, with the joke that whatever happened he did not care to start again upon his travels. A monarch so intelligent and supple, so unencumbered with Stuart obstinacy, was likely to make himself both popular and secure.

The reaction.

No sooner was the monarchy restored than the desire seized the victors to be revenged upon their Puritan adversaries. The king's general pardon issued from Holland was subject to parliamentary revision, and the Parliament, far more vindictive than the sovereign, resolved to punish all who had been instrumental in bringing Charles I. to death. Thirteen revolutionists were executed, and a contemptible and revolting vengeance was wreaked upon the body of the great Cromwell. It was dragged from its tomb and suspended with iron chains from the gallows.

The revolution not in vain.

Such scenes apart, the Restoration was far less violent than similar events in history, owing largely, it must be admitted, to the humanity of the king. Yet to the defeated

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and dejected Puritans, whose leading survivor was the great poet Milton, it looked as if the return of Charles had closed upon them the gates of Paradise, and made vain the civil struggle of the past twenty years. But that was not quite the case. As the Petition of Right and most of the early enactments of the Long Parliament had received the royal assent, they remained in vigor, thereby substantially reducing the royal prerogative. Nevertheless, the king's powers were still so great that he might plot for the overthrow of the Constitution, and make it advisable for the people to cut down still further his authority. In that case a new conflict would arise. But the danger of it for the present was slight. Charles II. was an unenterprising reveller, and the people in their reckless access of loyalty might almost have applauded an attempted usurpation.

The Cavalier Parliament, as Charles's second Parliament, convened in 1661 and allowed to hold power for eighteen years, was significantly called, completely expressed this reactionary sentiment of the country—it was more royal than the king. One of its first acts was to vote that no one could lawfully take arms against the sovereign, that is, it affirmed what was called the doctrine of non-resistance. Such a legislature seemed to be separated by a chasm of ages from the Long Parliament. But the most pressing question for which the Parliament had to find a solution was the question of religion. During the last twenty years every conceivable form of Protestant dissent had sprung into existence and found supporters. Were these sects to be tolerated or was England to go back to a uniform national Church? In the Cavalier Parliament—a body of royalists and reactionaries—there was only one opinion: the Church of England and nothing but the Church of England. It undertook, therefore, to restore the historical religion and persecute every deviation with relentless severity.

The Cavalier Parliament, 1661–79.

Intolerance of the Cavalier Parliament.

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A new Act of Uniformity, 1662.

In the year 1662 the Parliament passed a new Act of Uniformity. By its provisions the Prayer Book was made obligatory, and two thousand clergymen who would not bend their necks to the yoke were ejected from their livings. Among the dismissed ministers were to be found Presbyterians, Independents (also called Congregationalists), and Baptists, most of them zealous and honorable men, who, as they did not accept the national Church, were henceforth classed together as Dissenters.

The Dissenters.

In the religious history of England this formal and definite ejection of the Puritan element from the Church marks a notable mile-stone. It will be remembered that the Puritans in general had not wished to separate from the national Church, but desired rather to so modify its forms that it might include or "comprehend" them. From now on all hope of "comprehension" was given up. The Dissenters, of whatever color, accepted their exclusion from the Church of England as an irrevocable fact, and henceforth directed all their efforts toward acquiring toleration for their own distinct forms of worship.

Repressive legislation.

But the Cavalier Parliament was the last body in the world to give ear to a request for religious liberty. As in its opinion the proper way to treat Dissenters was to suppress them, it developed a highly perfected system of persecution. In the year 1664 it passed the Conventicle Act, by which the meetings of Dissenters for religious purposes were punished with fines culminating in transportation; and a year later (1665) there followed the Five Mile Act, by the terms of which no Dissenting minister was allowed to teach school or reside within five miles of any town or place where he had once held a cure.

Catholicism is the enemy.

It is not probable that the Cavalier Parliament would have insisted on the national creed with such vehemence, if it had not been persuaded that toleration granted to the Dis-

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senters would open a loop-hole for the Catholics. And just then the suspicion against Catholicism was stronger in the land than ever, because of the secret machinations of the court in its behalf. Had the facts that were only whispered in the palace-passages been known at Westminster, there can be no doubt that the religious legislation would have been even more stringent than it was; for Charles, although afraid to publish the truth, had secretly embraced Catholicism.

The foreign policy of Charles.

A monarch who identified himself so little in religious matters with his people was not likely to serve them in the foreign field. In fact, his guidance of England was of a piece with his superficial and selfish view of life. He disliked the bluff republican Dutch and admired the sumptuous Louis XIV. of France, and governed his conduct accordingly.

First Dutch War of the Restoration, 1664–67.

We have noticed the growing commercial rivalry between the Dutch and the English. The Navigation Act, passed in 1651 by the "Rump," and the war that followed were evidences of it. When to a number of ancient jealousies, excited in part by conflicting colonial claims, was added the animosity created by the formal reënactment of the Navigation Act, war could not long be averted. For three years (1664–67) the adversaries sought one another upon all the seas; but when peace was signed, the Dutch were obliged to cede their American colony, New Amsterdam, which was renamed New York in honor of James, duke of York and brother of the king.

Charles leans toward France

This was the time of the ascendancy of France in European politics. The leading fact of the general situation was that Louis XIV. was planning to extend his territory at the expense of his neighbors. The logical policy of England, as the rival of France, would have been to support the victim against the aggressor; but Charles looked at the question not from the general but from the personal point of view.

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Naturally, his riotous life kept him involved in constant money difficulties, as fortunes were flung away on entertainments, or were lavished on courtiers and mistresses. To get money, therefore, and more money became Charles's great object in life; and Louis XIV., who was not without a shrewd streak amid his lavishness, was perfectly willing to oblige his brother of England, if he could by this means buy England's aid, or, at least, her neutrality in the conflicts he anticipated. Now the French king began his aggressions, in the year 1667, by invading the Spanish Netherlands; but after taking a few towns he was forced to desist, chiefly owing to the energetic protest of the Dutch, supported temporarily by England and Sweden. No wonder that the haughty Louis resolved to have revenge on this nation of traders and republicans. By the secret Treaty of Dover (1670) he won over Charles by a handsome sum to join him in his projected war against the Dutch; and Charles, in his turn, stipulated to avow himself a Catholic as soon as the occasion served, and to call on Louis for military aid in case his subjects, on the news of his conversion, rose in revolt.

Second Dutch War of the Restoration, 1672–74.

When, in the year 1672, everything was at length ready, Louis and Charles fell suddenly like two highwaymen upon the Dutch, engaging in what in England is known as the Second Dutch War of the Restoration. Just as the war was about to break out, Charles, not yet daring to go the whole length of announcing himself a Catholic, published a decree of toleration, the so-called Declaration of Indulgence, which, overriding the statutes of Parliament, suspended the execution of all penal laws against Catholics and Dissenters. Such a measure invites the sympathy of the modern world, but it is necessary to remember, in judging it, that its motives were impure, and that it nullified the laws of England by an arbitrary act. The outcry was general; and when Parliament met it insisted on the king's withdrawing his Dec-

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laration. Reluctantly Charles yielded (1673), but with this retreat the war had lost its interest for him; and as the English people were learning to feel more and more strongly that their real enemy was the French and not the Dutch, he gave way to popular pressure and concluded peace (1674). Thus the treason hatched out in the Treaty of Dover came to nothing, except in so far as it involved the Dutch in another heroic combat for their life and liberty. So stubborn was their defence under their Stadtholder, William III. of Orange, that Louis XIV., baffled and discouraged, finally followed Charles's example and withdrew from the struggle (Peace of Nimwegen, 1678).

The Test Act, 1673.

But Parliament was not satisfied with the victory it had won in the matter of the Declaration. The members were now so thoroughly suspicious of the secret Catholic partisanship of the court that they added a crowning measure to their intolerant religious legislation, the Test Act, which provided that all persons holding office under the crown should publicly receive the sacrament according to Anglican custom. In consequence of this act, which tested and weighed every man by his faith, only avowed adherents of the Church of England could henceforth hold office, and no less a person than the duke of York, the king's brother and heir, had to resign the post of Lord High Admiral because he was a Catholic.

The "Popish Plot."

But the spectre of Catholicism continued to stalk through the land, leading at times to outbreaks which would be ludicrous, if they had not been so profoundly tragical. The most famous of them is of the year 1678 and is known as the "Popish Plot." A certain Titus Oates, a discredited adventurer and confessed scoundrel, told a rambling story before a magistrate to the effect that he had discovered a conspiracy on the part of the Catholics to institute in England another St. Bartholomew. Although Oates's story was

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palpably absurd, it won general credence, and as a result of the frantic agitation which seized the country a number of prominent Catholics were executed, others confined in the Tower, and a corollary was added to the Test Act by which Catholics were barred from the House of Lords, the only place where they had not hitherto been disturbed.

The death of Charles.

Charles died in the year 1685, after a reign of twenty-five years. On his death-bed he privately received the sacrament according to the Catholic rite, and then, keeping up his life-long comedy to the last, died decorously according to the prescriptions of the national Church.

Whigs and Tories.

The reign of Charles is marked by an advance in the political life of the nation which merits close attention. The gushing loyalty which accompanied the first acts of the Cavalier Parliament did not last. The distrust engendered by the Catholic tendencies of the court had already impaired it, when the prospect of the succession of the Catholic duke of York gave it a staggering blow. A party called the Whigs arose which aimed to exclude the duke of York from the throne on the ground of religion; another party, called the Tories,[1] stood stanchly by the principle of legitimate succession. Charles, with the support of the Tories, managed at the close of his reign to score a triumph over the Whigs, but the fact remained that for the first time in the history of English Parliamentary life there had been created parties with a definite programme and something like a permanent organization. From that day to this, a period of over two centuries, the Whigs and Tories, latterly under the names of Liberals and Conservatives, have disputed the government of England between them. It will be seen that the succession

[1] These names were originally taunts, flung by excited orators at the heads of their opponents. Tory is derived from the Irish and signifies robber. Whig comes probably from Whiggam, a cry with which the Scotch peasants exhorted their horses. Applied as a party name, it was intended to convey the idea of a rebellious Covenanter.

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issue in which the parties had their origin was intimately associated with the question of religion. The Tories drew their strength from the uncompromising supporters of the Church of England, while the Whigs, standing for a Protestant succession, found it profitable to lean upon the Dissenters and advocate religious toleration for all Protestants. If ever the Whigs came to power the Dissenters could count on something being done for them, while as long as the Tories ruled the state they were sure to be oppressed.

James II. (1685–88).

James II.

James II., who succeeded his brother Charles, was not only an open and avowed Catholic, which, of course, raised an impassable barrier between him and his subjects, but he was also imbued with the same ideas of Divine Right as his father Charles I., and he held to them as stubbornly as ever that monarch had done. Worst of all, he had no touch of the political cleverness of Charles II. Under these circumstances the new reign did not promise well. James was, indeed, received at first with some warmth, but a succession of rash and ill-judged measures reduced him rapidly to a state of icy isolation.

Catholic measures of James.

As James was a Catholic among suspicious and embittered Protestants, he should, at the very least, have kept quiet. But he seems to have been possessed with the idea that he had been made king for the express purpose of furthering the Catholic cause. He did not even trouble himself to proceed cautiously. Overriding the Test Act, he presently put his coreligionists into important positions in the army and the civil service. Soon after, in 1687, he published, in imitation of his brother, a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all penalties against Catholics and Dissenters. He justified his action in these matters by what he called the royal dispensing power, which was supposed to give him the

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right not to abolish laws, but to delay their execution. If he really had any such power, it was plain that he was superior to the law, and the civil war had been in vain. Regardless of the universal discontent he published, in 1688, a Second Declaration, and ordered it to be read from all the pulpits. Most of the clergy refused to conform to this tyrannical order, and seven bishops presented to the king a written protest. James's answer was an order that legal proceedings be taken against them. Immense excitement gathered around the trial, which occurred in June, 1688.

Monmouth and "the Bloody Assizes."

Meanwhile other irregularities and violences of the king had added to his unpopularity. In the year of his accession, the Protestant duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II., had invaded England with a small force, but was defeated, captured, and executed. James might have been satisfied with this success. He preferred, however, a general persecution. He sent into the west, among the people who had supported Monmouth, the savage and infamous Judge Jeffreys, for the purpose of ferreting out Monmouth's adherents. The mockery of justice engaged in by Jeffreys is known as "the Bloody Assizes." The inhuman monster was not satisfied until he had hanged three hundred and twenty victims, mostly poor peasants, and transported eight hundred and forty to the West Indies. The odium of these misdeeds fell, of course, upon the king.

Birth of a son.

All this was for a time put up with by the people because the next heir to the throne, James's daughter Mary, who was the child of his first marriage and the wife of William of Orange, was a Protestant. The nation looked forward to her succession with the more pleasure as her husband, too, was, on his mother's side, a Stuart.[1] When, however, James's second wife gave birth, in June, 1688, to a son, who by the English law would take precedence over Mary, consterna-

[1] See Genealogical Table on page 565.

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tion seized the whole people. The son, it was foreseen, would be educated in the Catholic religion, and thus the Catholic dynasty would be perpetuated. As the birth of the son and the trial of the seven bishops occurred about the same time (June, 1688), England was filled with excitement from end to end. Seizing the opportunity, a number of leading Englishmen, representing both the Whig and Tory parties, sent a secret letter inviting William of Orange and his wife Mary to come to England's rescue.

William lands in England.

In November, 1688, William landed in England, and joyously and spontaneously the people of all classes rallied around him. When the army which James sent against him refused to fight, the wretched king at last awakened to the fact that he stood alone. Suddenly and utterly discouraged, he sent his wife and child to France, and shortly after followed in person. Perhaps never in history had there been a more swift and bloodless revolution.

The reorganization of the monarchy.

When Parliament met, it was confronted by the difficult task of harvesting the fruits of the popular success. It began by declaring James's reign at an end, and offering the throne conjointly to William and Mary. Thereby it solemnly committed itself to the view that the king was not Heaven's anointed, called to the throne by hereditary Divine Right, but was the choice of people and Parliament. Henceforth a king of England had no other claim to the crown than a statute of the realm. An act of Parliament had made him, an act also might undo him. Then the victorious Parliament proceeded to complete the edifice of its power. Throughout the seventeenth century the conflict had raged between king and Parliament over their respective spheres of control. The Petition of Right (1628) was the first act which effectually clipped the wings of the monarchy. The Long Parliament was engaged in completing the work, when the civil war intervened and buried the issue beneath the din

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of arms. At length the flood of loyalty, once again set in motion by ten years of military rule, brought the Stuarts back to the throne, but did not restore them to the prerogative of their ancestors. The only means of tyranny left in their hands was the claim that as divinely appointed kings they were above the laws and could suspend their execution when they pleased. The cautious Charles had exercised this supposed right charily, but the infatuated James had built up his system of tyranny upon it. This last loop-hole of arbitrary rule the Parliament now proceeded to stop up by means of a Bill of Rights (1689), wherein the so-called dispensing power was declared abolished, and the king was in every respect subjected to the law. The Bill of Rights further enumerated and forbade anew all the illegal acts of James, and formally and solemnly excluded Roman Catholics from the throne. The measure ended the long constitutional struggle in England by giving the victory and the fruits thereof to the Parliament, with the result that from this time on to our own day the Parliament has controlled the government of England.

The Bill of Rights, 1689.

If the revolution of 1688 closed the political conflict by seating the Parliament in the place of power, it also led to a measure which promised a solution of the long-standing religious troubles. Chiefly with the support of the Whigs, Parliament passed, almost simultaneously with the Bill of Rights, a Toleration Act, conceding to the Dissenters the right of public worship. The Test Act, which barred them from office, was not repealed, but they could at least serve their God as they pleased, and that, after the long persecution they had suffered, was a sufficient blessing for the present. Indeed, it was not until the first half of the nineteenth century that the final disabilities resting upon non-Anglicans were removed. But if the current bigotry of high and low balked at more than partial alleviation for dissenting Prot-

The Toleration Act.

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estants, it was plain that after the late experience with a Catholic king, no concession at all would be made to the adherents of the Pope. Tests and penal laws continued therefore in full force, and made life a very heavy burden to Catholic Englishmen for a long time to come. But the Toleration Act, by satisfying at least the old Puritan element, greatly promoted religious peace.

Puritan and Restoration literature.

The literature of the seventeenth century presents in sharp contrast the two theories of life which combated each other under the party names of Cavalier and Roundhead. The moral severity and the noble aspiration of Puritanism found sublime expression in John Milton ("Paradise Lost," 1667), and a simple-minded eulogist in John Bunyan ("Pilgrim's Progress," 1675). But the literary reign of these men and their followers was short, for the Restoration quickly buried them under its frivolity and laughter. Inevitably literature followed the currents of the contemporary life, and Milton and Bunyan were succeeded by a school of licentious dramatists and literary triflers. John Dryden (1631–1701), a man of high gifts which suffered by contact with a hollow age, is the great figure of the Restoration and rises head and shoulders above his Liliputian contemporaries.

Revival of science.

If the Restoration were to be judged merely by its contributions to literature, it would not merit high consideration. It was, as we have seen, a reaction from the boundless idealism of the previous period, and turned men to definite intellectual pursuits. The scientific spirit, having its roots in man's curiosity about himself and his environment, began to stir once more, and for its cultivation was founded, in 1660, the Royal Society. That England made rapid strides in philosophy and physics is witnessed by the great names of Locke and Newton. Their work, conducted on the principle of the collection of facts through patient observation of nature, helped to lay the foundations of modern science.

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CHAPTER XII

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV. (1643–1715)

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The work of Richelieu.

THE work of Richelieu, as we have seen, cleared the way for the supremacy of France in Europe. By destroying the political privileges of the Huguenots and by breaking the power of the nobility he had freed the royal authority from the last restraints which weighed upon it, and had rendered it absolute. At the same time the great minister had engaged France in the Thirty Years' War, and had reaped for her the benefits of the Peace of Westphalia (1648). But just at this point, as France was about to assume a dominant position, she was threatened once more, and as it proved for the last time under the old monarchy, by civil war.

The regency of Anne of Austria.

Richelieu's king, Louis XIII., died only a few months after him, in 1643, leaving behind a five-year-old son, in whose name the queen, Anne of Austria, assumed the regency. At

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the same time the post of leading minister, which had been occupied by Richelieu, fell to the confidant of the regent, another churchman and an Italian by birth, Cardinal Mazarin. Trained under the eyes of Richelieu, the new minister tried to carry out faithfully his predecessor's programme, and was rewarded, like his predecessor, with the aversion of the great nobles, the chief of whom was the famous general, the prince of Condé. The Peace of Westphalia had not yet been signed, when a domestic trouble occurred which the nobles tried to make serve their ends. The Parliament of Paris resisted a new tax, but before this very promising issue was fairly under way the nobles, rejoicing in the embarrassment of the government, insinuated themselves into the struggle. Thus, what had been at the outset an intelligent constitutional movement, degenerated quickly into a rebellion of the feudal order to recover its lost authority. The moment the civil war, known under the name of the Fronde, took this shape, it deserved to fail, for though France might have profited by the victory of a constitutional party committed to the idea of popular control, the country could not consent to fall back into the feudal disorder, from which it had been rescued by Richelieu. The people, quick to discern their own interest in a quarrel between king and nobles, supported the government, and after a struggle of five years (1648–53) Mazarin reëstablished peace and order. The Fronde [1] is the agony of the feudal nobility. To be sure, the nobles retained their vast estates and special privileges and continued to enjoy a splendid social position, but they degenerated more and more into a

The Fronde.

[1] The Fronde affords an interesting comparison with the civil war which was being waged contemporaneously in England. The English constitutional movement was successful, whereas the French movement was not, (1) because the English Parliament represented the nation, which was not the case with the Parliament of Paris; (2) because the English aristocracy was law-abiding and patriotic; and (3) because the English possessed political experience and had the moral force to hold fast to what they wanted.

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nerveless body of docile courtiers, content to squander their means and energies upon the dances and dinners of Versailles.

The Peace of Westphalia was an arrangement between France and the Austrian branch of the House of Hapsburg. Because the Spanish branch, although signally worsted by France in conjunction with the Dutch, was unwilling to come to terms, war between France and Spain continued after 1648. When the Fronde broke out, the tables were turned, and the balance inclined for some years in favor of Spain; but as soon as the Fronde was beaten down, Mazarin was able to win back the lost ground and force Spain to terms. Owing to foreign war and internal revolution, Spain was, in fact, at her last gasp. When she signed with France the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659), she signed away with it the last remnant of the supremacy which she had once exercised in Europe. France, the victor, took the place of Spain in the councils of the Continent, and signalized her triumph by acquiring certain territories, lying on the north or French slope of the Pyrenees (Roussillon), and by getting a more favorable boundary toward the Spanish Netherlands (Artois).

The Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659.

With the glory of the Peace of the Pyrenees still lingering in the skies of France, Mazarin's life turned to its setting (1661). He will always be remembered among the great ministers of his adopted country. The young sovereign, Louis XIV., now stepped forward to take the government in hand, but when he announced with quiet pride that he would henceforth be his own prime minister, many smiled and doubted. But he kept his word, and while he lived the varied business of the French Government was transacted practically by himself. He is said to have boasted once: *l'état c'est moi* (I am the state). Whether the phrase is his or not, it expresses admirably the spirit of his reign, for he held himself to be the absolute head of the state, and regarded

The personal rule of Louis XIV.

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his ministers not as the responsible heads of departments, but as clerks. It is characteristic that the sun was his favorite emblem, because he was pleased to imagine that as the earth drew its sustenance from the central luminary, so the life of France emanated from himself. *Le roi-soleil* (sun-king) was the title given him by idolizing courtiers. Absolutism, that is, monarchy strengthened by the ruin of the feudal powers, existed in Europe long before Louis XIV., but the French sovereign now hedged it round with a special divinity. He taught and put in practice the doctrine that a king was the plenipotentiary of God, and was like the rest of mankind only in his mortality. With this exalted idea in his mind Louis was convinced that his only fit background was not the French metropolis and capital, but a special residence or court. By means of his court, which he located at Versailles, where a whole royal city sprang into being at his fiat, he was removed from contact with the common herd, and could surround himself, like an Oriental divinity, with acolytes and worshippers. Everybody knows how Versailles aroused the admiration and envy of the world. That was not so much because of its, after all, trivial splendors, but because its central idol was, in the words of a contemporary, "the greatest actor of majesty that ever filled a throne."

Louis and the court of Versailles.

But strong and omnipresent as the ceremonial element was in Louis's conception of his office, he was not, as already indicated, merely an ornamental sovereign. Although but a commonplace man, ignorant and superstitious, he had a high sense of order and completeness, which enabled him to carry Richelieu's reorganization of France a considerable step forward. The complex administration of government was carefully divided into departments, and the diplomatic service, the army and navy reached a high degree of efficiency. But the most original work was done in the field of

Perfection of administration.

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finance under the guidance of the tireless Colbert. Colbert (1619–83) had no sooner been put in control of the treasury department than he made an end of the customary carelessness and peculation and turned the annual deficit into a surplus.

The economic policy of Colbert.

But Colbert—and here lies his peculiar distinction—was more than a good financier; he was an economic thinker. With the science of political economy as yet unborn, it was a decided step forward when Colbert arrived at the conclusion that the question of revenues must be considered in connection with the whole problem of production, and that the primary object of a good minister of finance should be the increase of the total wealth of the nation. Colbert therefore undertook to foster agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. He applied to his country the system known in our own day as protection, encouraging exportation, and discouraging the importation of foreign products by means of a tariff. French manufactures were greatly stimulated, and such articles as silks, brocades, laces, and glass acquired a merited popularity in the markets of the world. Excellent roads and canals, the necessary avenues of commerce, were constructed in all directions, and a creditable colonial activity was unfolded in the West Indies, Louisiana, and India. In a word, France seemed intent, in the early years of Louis XIV., on matching the political and military supremacy already attained, with the more substantial supremacy which is the result of a long period of commercial and industrial activity.

Louis becomes a conqueror.

Unfortunately, the splendid Louis was not attracted by the picture of a reign of bourgeois prosperity. Though but a young man, he was already the cynosure of Europe. In all truth he could say that he was the first power of the world. But in measure as he found that his neighbors were no match for him, he began to be tempted by the thought of making

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them his dependents. It was not a high ambition, this, still it won the day with him. In the year 1667, therefore, Louis entered upon a career of aggression and conquest, which, after a few brilliant results, led to such a succession of disasters that the man whose progress had been attended by clouds of incense wafted by admiring courtiers, closed his career in ignominy.

His wars.

Four great wars substantially filled the rest of Louis's life. They were: (1) A War with Spain for the possession of the Spanish Netherlands (1667–68); (2) the War with the Dutch (1672–78); (3) the War of the Palatinate (1688–97); (4) the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14).

Louis antagonizes Europe.

When Louis, in the year 1667, surveyed the political situation, and noting his own resources and the weakness of his neighbors, resolved on a war of conquest, he must have debated carefully whither he had best move. He decided finally that it would be wisest to extend the French boundaries toward the east. Spain, intrenched in the Spanish Netherlands, seemed moribund, and, besides, France needed to be strengthened, most of all, on this side. By choosing to expand eastward, however, he was bound to antagonize the three countries which were directly threatened by this move—Spain, the Dutch, and Germany. Sooner or later, too, he was likely to arouse the jealousy of the ancient rival of France, England. Did Louis, when he began war so lightly, reckon with the chance of a European coalition against him? Probably not. He saw only the contemporary divisions of Europe and his own brilliant opportunity, and like every other adventurer he let the future take care of itself.

The War of the Spanish Netherlands, 1667–68.

In 1667 Louis suddenly invaded the Spanish Netherlands. The fact that he tried to justify himself by putting forth some very doubtful claims of his Spanish wife, daughter of Philip IV., to these territories, only added hypocrisy to violence.

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His well-appointed army took place after place. Spain was too weak to offer resistance, and if the Dutch, frightened at the prospect of such a neighbor as Louis, had not bestirred themselves, Louis would have overrun all the Spanish Netherlands. The Triple Alliance of the Dutch, England, and Sweden, formed by the rapid ingenuity of the republican patriot, John de Witt, who was at this time the leading spirit of the Dutch Government, bade Louis halt. Louis, on occasion, could distinguish the possible from the impossible. In answer to the threat of the Triple Alliance, he declared himself satisfied with a frontier strip, and retired. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) formally secured him in his bold acquisition (1668).

The isolation of the Dutch.

For the next few years Louis seemed to be dominated by a single thought—revenge upon the Dutch. The Dutch had been the soul of the Triple Alliance; the Dutch primarily hindered his expansion eastward. The plan he now formed was to sever the Dutch from all their friends and allies, and then fall upon them unawares. The diplomatic campaign preliminary to the declaration of war was crowned with complete success. Sweden and the emperor were secured by treaties of neutrality, and the despicable Charles II., by the Treaty of Dover (1670), was even pledged to join the forces of England with the French in the proposed war. In the spring of 1672 everything was ready. While the combined French and English fleets engaged the Dutch fleet under the celebrated Admiral Ruyter in the Channel, the French army, led by Condé and Turenne, invaded the territory of the Seven United Provinces by following the course of the Rhine.

The House of Orange to the front.

In a few weeks most of the provinces, owing to the decay into which the too secure de Witt had permitted the army and fortresses to fall, were in the hands of the French. And now a terrible indignation swept over the alarmed people.

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They fell upon and murdered de Witt, and would be satisfied with nothing less than the triumphant reinstatement of the House of Orange, which, at the close of the Spanish war, the republican party, largely at the prompting of de Witt, had banished from the public service. In an outburst of enthusiasm William III. of Orange was made Stadtholder and supreme commander on sea and land. William, a young man but twenty-one years of age, was far from being a genius, but he was sprung from heroic stock, and the responsibility for a nation's safekeeping, put upon him in a stern crisis, brought out his best qualities. The English ambassador invited him to look about him and submit, urging that it was easy to see that the Dutch were lost. "I know one means of never seeing it," he replied, "to die on the last dyke." It was this spirit that now steeled the temper of the little people and enabled them to emulate the deeds of their ancestors against Spain.

The character of William.

Before Louis could take the heart of the Netherlands, the city of Amsterdam, the Dutch had, at the order of William, cut the dykes and restored their country to the original dominion of the waters. Louis found himself checked; his opportunity was lost. But Europe was now thoroughly aroused, and before many months had passed, there had rallied to the cause of the Dutch the emperor, the states of the Empire, and Spain. In the year 1674 the position of Louis was still further weakened. In that year the state of English public opinion forced Charles II. to abandon Louis and make his peace with the Dutch. Louis was thereupon left to face a great continental coalition, with no ally but remote Sweden. The odds in a struggle with all Europe were patently against Louis, and although the superiority of French organization and French generalship enabled him to win every pitched battle with his foes, he was glad enough to end the war when peace was offered. By the Treaty of Nim-

The Dutch war becomes general.

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wegen (1678) he had to acknowledge his failure in his main purpose, for the Dutch did not lose a foot of territory, but he was permitted, in recognition of his military successes, to incorporate the Franche Comté, a detached eastern possession of the king of Spain, with France.

Louis takes Strasburg.

The second war, too, although it had roused a European alliance against Louis, had brought him its prize of a new province. Louis was now at the zenith of his glory. The adulation of his court became more and more slavish, until the flattered monarch imagined that he could do everything with impunity. His imperious temper is well exhibited by an event of the year 1681. In a period of complete peace he fell upon the city of Strasburg, the last stronghold of the Empire in Alsace, and incorporated it with France.

The bigotry which had been inculcated in the king from his youth, grew confirmed as he entered middle life, and now involved him in a monstrous action. Originally frivolous and pleasure-loving, he had, as the doors of young manhood closed upon him, fallen under the influence of a devout Catholic lady, Madame de Maintenon, the governess of some of his children. To Madame de Maintenon the eradication of heresy was a noble work, and Louis, taking the cue from her, began gradually to persecute the Protestants. At first, innocently enough, rewards were offered to voluntary converts. Then the government proceeded to take more drastic measures; wherever Huguenots refused, on summons, to become Catholics, rough dragoons were quartered on them until the wild soldiery had produced pliancy. These barbarities became known as *dragonnades*. Finally, in 1685, two years after Louis had by formal marriage with Madame de Maintenon, who thus became his second wife, thoroughly committed himself to her ideas, he revoked the Edict of Nantes, by virtue of which the Huguenots had enjoyed a partial freedom of worship for almost one hundred

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.

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years. Therewith the Protestant faith was proscribed within the boundaries of France. The blow which this insane measure struck the prosperity of the country was more injurious than a disastrous war. Thousands of Huguenots —the lowest estimate speaks of fifty thousand families—fled across the border and carried their industry, their capital,[1] and their civilization to the rivals and enemies of France—chiefly to Holland, America, and Prussia.

The occupation of Strasburg and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes were events belonging to an interval of peace. But Louis was already planning a new war. When his preparations became known, the emperor, the Dutch, and Spain concluded, at the instigation of William of Orange, a new alliance. Happily, before the war had well begun, a lucky chance won England for the allies. In 1688 James II., who, like his brother, Charles II., was inclined to live on friendly terms with Louis, was overthrown by the "Glorious Revolution," and William of Orange became king of England. As the temper of the English people had at the same time become thoroughly anti-French, William had no difficulty in persuading them to join Europe against the French monarch. Thus in the new war—called the War of the Palatinate, from the double fact that Louis claimed the Palatinate and that the war began with a terrible harrying by fire and sword of that poor Rhenish land—Louis was absolutely without a friend.

England joins Europe against Louis.

This third war (1688–97) is, for the general student, thoroughly unmemorable. Battles were fought on land and on sea, in the Channel, in the Netherlands, and along the Rhine, and, generally speaking, the French proved their old

The War of the Palatinate, 1688–97.

[1] The industry and the capital of the Huguenots are not mere phrases. The Huguenots, who belonged largely to the middle classes, were the hardest workers of the time, largely through the direct influence of Calvin. Calvin interpreted the commandment, "Six days shalt thou labor," literally, and abandoned the dozens of holidays which obliged Catholic workmen to be idle a good part of the year.

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superiority; but they were not strong enough to reap any benefit from their successes against the rest of Europe, and in 1697 all the combatants from mere exhaustion were glad to sign, on the basis of mutual restitutions, the Peace of Ryswick.

The War of the Palatinate was the first war by which Louis had gained nothing. That and the circumstance that England had now definitely joined the ranks of his enemies, should have served him as a warning that the tide had turned. And perhaps he would not have been so unmindful of the hostility of Europe if there had not opened for him at this time a peculiarly tempting prospect. The king of Spain, Charles II., had no direct heir, and at his death, which might occur at any time, the vast Spanish dominion —Spain and her colonies, Naples and Milan, the Spanish Netherlands—would fall no one knew to whom. The Austrian branch of Hapsburg put forth a claim, but Louis fancied that his children had a better title still in right of his first wife, who was the oldest sister of the Spanish king. The matter was so involved legally that it is impossible to say to this day where the better right lay.

The Spanish inheritance.

Louis was now old enough to have grown cautious, and wisely proposed to his chief adversary, William III., to come to some arrangement with him over the Spanish inheritance by which war might be averted. Accordingly, the two leading powers of Europe pledged themselves to a plan of partition as the most plausible settlement of the impending difficulties. But when, on the death of Charles II., November, 1700, it was found that the Spanish king had made a will in favor of Philip, the duke of Anjou, one of Louis's younger grandsons, Louis, intoxicated by the prospect, forgot his obligations and threw the Partition Treaty to the winds. He sent young Philip to Madrid to assume the rule of the undivided dominion of Spain. The House of

Louis signs and rejects the Partition Treaty.

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Bourbon now ruled the whole European west. "There are no longer any Pyrenees," were Louis's exultant words.

It was some time before Europe recovered from the shock of its surprise over this bold step and nerved itself to a resistance. The hoodwinked and angered William was indefatigable in arousing the Dutch and English, and at last, in 1701, succeeded in creating the so-called Grand Alliance, composed of the emperor, England, the Dutch, and the leading German princes. Before the war had fairly begun, however, William, the stubborn, life-long enemy of Louis, had died (March, 1702). In the war which was just then breaking out and is called the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–14), it is not merely fanciful to discover his spirit pervading the camps and marching with the hosts of the allies.

The Grand Alliance.

In the new war the position of Louis was more favorable than it had been in the preceding struggle. He commanded the resources not only of France but also of Spain; his soldiers carried themselves with the assurance of troops who had never been beaten; and his armies had the advantage of being under his single direction. The allies, on the other hand, were necessarily divided in council and interest. What advantages they had lay in these two circumstances, which in the end proved decisive: they possessed greater resources of money and men, and they developed superior commanders. The brilliant French generals, Condé and Turenne, were now dead, and their successors, with the exception of Vauban, the inventor of the modern system of fortification, and the intrepid Villars, were all, like Louis himself, without a spark of fire and originality. In the highest commands, where France was weak, England and Austria on the other hand proved themselves particularly strong. They developed in the duke of Marlborough and in Eugene, prince of Savoy, two eminent commanders.

The combatants compared.

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The War of the Spanish Succession is a world struggle.

Not even the Thirty Years' War assumed such proportions as the struggle in which Europe now engaged. It was literally universal, and raged, at one and the same time, at all the exposed points of the French-Spanish possessions, that is, in the Spanish Netherlands, along the upper Rhine, in Italy, in Spain itself (where the Hapsburg claimant, the Archduke Charles, strove to drive out the Bourbon king, Philip V.), on the sea, and in the colonies of North America. The details of this gigantic struggle have no place here. We must content ourselves with noting the striking military actions and the final settlement.

The victories of Eugene and Marlborough.

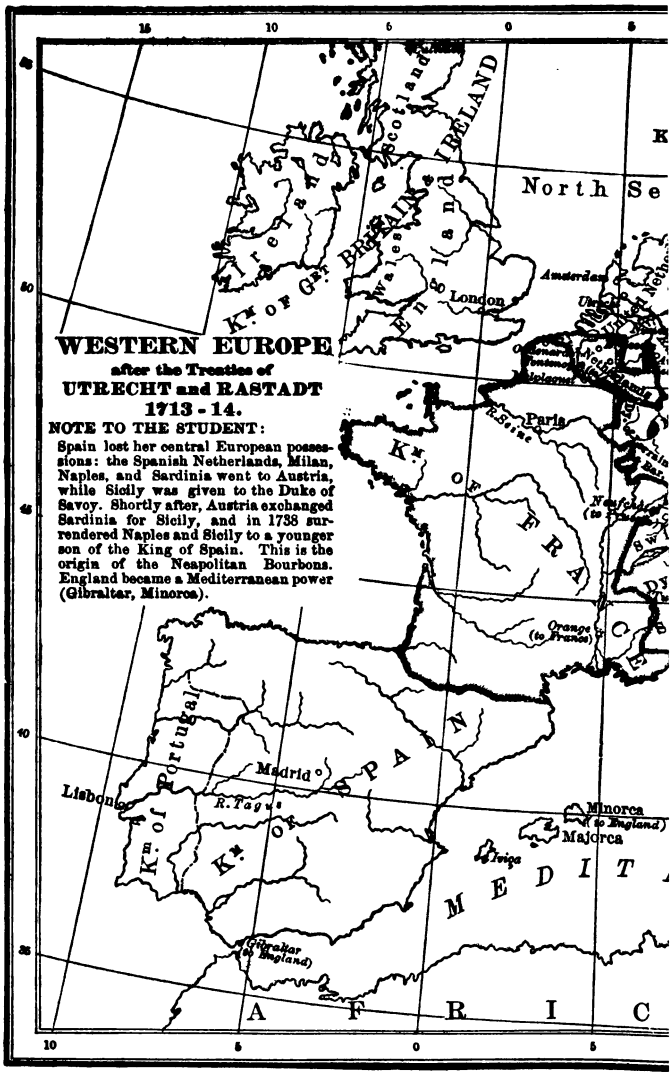
The first great battle of the war occurred in 1704 at Blenheim, on the upper Danube. The battle of Blenheim was the result of a bold strategical move of Marlborough, straight across western Germany, in order to save Vienna from a well-planned attack of the French. Joining with Eugene and bringing the French to bay, Marlborough captured or cut to pieces the forces of the enemy. At Blenheim the long chain of French victories was broken, and two new names were added to the roster of great generals. In 1706 Marlborough won a splendid victory at Ramillies, in the Netherlands, and in the same year Eugene defeated the French at Turin and drove them out of Italy. These signal successes were followed in the years 1708 and 1709 by two great victories along the French frontier at Oudenarde and Malplaquet. Oudenarde and Malplaquet left France prostrate, and seemed to open up the road to Paris.

A Tory ministry succeeds the Whigs.

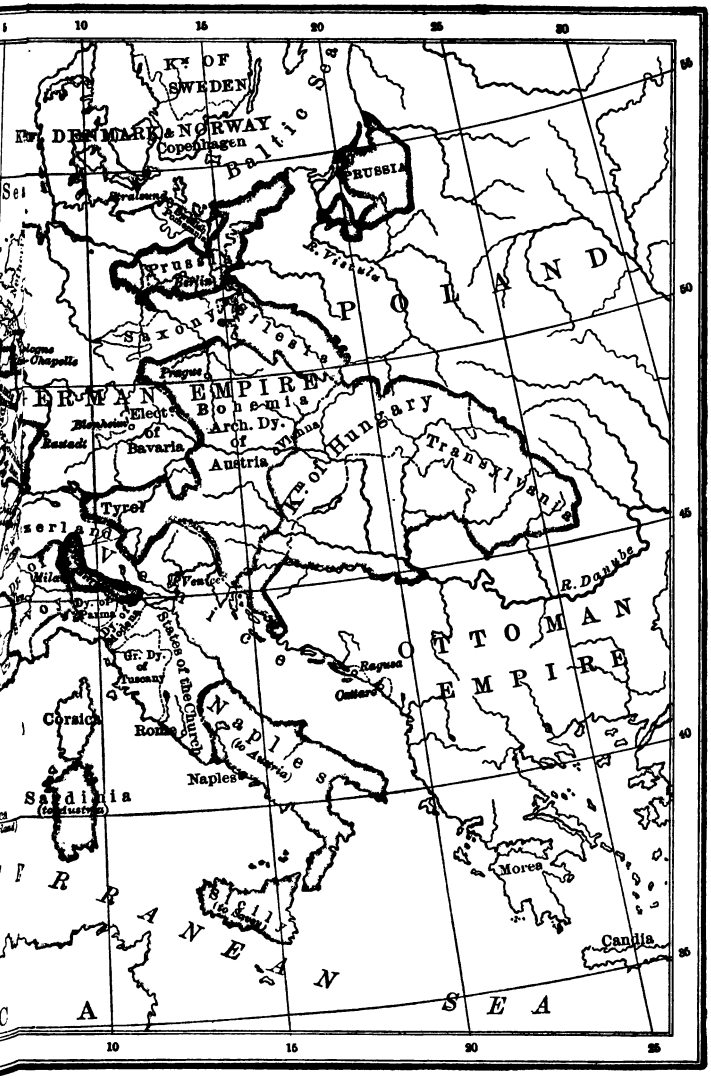
The road to Paris, however, owing to a number of unexpected occurrences, which utterly changed the face of European politics, was never taken. In 1710 the hold of the Whig ministry in England, which had supported Marlborough and advocated the war, was shaken, and shortly after a Tory ministry, in favor of peace at any price, succeeded. While Marlborough's actions in the field were

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thus paralyzed, there fell from another quarter a second and a finishing blow.

The death of Emperor Joseph.

In 1711 the Emperor Joseph died, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles VI. As Charles was also the candidate of the Grand Alliance for the Spanish throne, the death of Joseph held out the prospect of the reunion of the vast Hapsburg dominion in one hand, as in the time of Charles V. Such a development did not lie in the interests of England and the Dutch, and these two nations now began to withdraw from the Grand Alliance and urge a settlement with the French. Louis, who was utterly exhausted and broken by defeat, met them more than half way. In 1713 the Peace of Utrecht ended the War of the Spanish Succession.

The Peace of Utrecht, 1713.

By the Peace of Utrecht the Spanish dominions were divided. Everybody managed to get some share in the booty. First, Philip V., Louis's grandson, was recognized as king of Spain and her colonies, on condition that France and Spain would remain forever separated. In a limited sense, therefore, Louis's policy had triumphed, for a Bourbon sat upon the Spanish throne. Next, the emperor was provided for; he received the bulk of the Italian possessions (Milan, Naples, and Sardinia), together with the Spanish Netherlands (henceforth Austrian Netherlands). The Dutch were appeased with a number of border fortresses in the Austrian Netherlands, as a military barrier against France; and England took some of the French possessions in the New World, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia (Acadia), and Hudson's Bay, together with the island of Minorca and the rock of Gibraltar, which gave her the command of the Mediterranean Sea. The ambitious and dissatisfied emperor refused, at first, to accept this peace, but he was forced to give way and confirm its leading arrangements by the Peace of Rastadt (1714).

Louis's death.

Shortly after the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, Louis

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XIV. died (September, 1715). The material prosperity of his early years had vanished, and in their place his failing eyes fell upon a famished peasantry and a government breaking down under its burden of debt. The disastrous end was the answer of fate to his foolish ambition. "I have made too many wars," the dying king admitted; "do not imitate me in that respect," he said, turning to his little heir. But to his contemporaries he remained to the day of his passing the *grand monarque;* and that title is a good summary of him as he appears in history, for it conveys the impression of a splendor which is not without the suspicion of hollowness.

The dominance of French civilization.

The brilliancy which Louis's long reign lent France cast a spell upon the rest of the world. Louis's court became the model court of Europe, and the so-called good society, the world over, adopted, for more than a century, the French tongue, French manners, French fashions, and French art. That such mere imitation could bring other nations no solid cultural advantages goes without saying, but it is necessary to recognize that French civilization under Louis must have possessed an irresistible charm to have excited such universal admiration.

The bloom of French literature.

Under Louis French literature unfolded a wealth of blossoms. It is the period of French classicism, a period, that is, of self-restraint and voluntary subjection to rules. Literature, always a perfect mirror of society, naturally assumed the majestic tone which ruled at Versailles, and prided itself on outward glitter and formal finish. But beneath this more or less artificial note sound, in the case at least of the leaders, the sincerity and conviction which are the constant characteristics of true art. France, modern France, France of the coming centuries, may point proudly to her tragic poets, Corneille (d. 1684) and Racine (d. 1699), and may always turn for refreshment and entertainment to the comedies of her inimitable Molière (d. 1673).

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CHAPTER XIII

THE RISE OF RUSSIA AND THE DECLINE OF SWEDEN

REFERENCES: WAKEMAN, Ascendancy of France, pp. 165–72, 180–83, 289–308; HASSALL, The Balance of Power, Chapters V., XI., XIII.; RAMBAUD, History of Russia, Vol. II., Chapters I.–IV.; MORFILL, Russia; WALISZEWSKI, Peter the Great; NISBET BAIN, Charles XII.

SOURCE READINGS: ROBINSON, Readings, Chapter XXXII., Sections 1, 2, 3.

The Russians: Slav and Christian.

THE Russians, the leading branch of the Slav family, took possession, in the period of the great migrations, of the wide plains of eastern Europe where they still reside. In the tenth century they became converted to Christianity by Greek missionaries, with the result that they have ever since been passionately attached to the Greek Orthodox Church, which held in the east the same commanding position occupied by the Roman Church in the west. They had not advanced far upon the road of civilization when a great calamity overtook them, for in the thirteenth century they were conquered by Asiatic Mongols or Tartars, whose yoke they did not entirely cast off until the beginning of the Modern Period. Under Ivan III. (1462–1505) and Ivan IV. (1547–84) the power of the monarch was greatly increased until he became almost absolute, and assumed, in witness of his position, the proud title of Cæsar or Czar. On the death of Ivan IV., called the Terrible, Russia was plunged into a sea of domestic troubles, out of which she was rescued in 1613 by the election to the sovereignty of

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a native nobleman, Michael Romanoff. Michael was the first Czar of the dynasty which still rules Russia to-day.

Poles and Swedes, the natural enemies of Russia.

The first business of the House of Romanoff was to drive back the western neighbors, the Poles, who had taken advantage of the late civil troubles to appropriate Russian territory. The Czars had engaged in this task with some success when they found themselves confronted with another and far more formidable power, Sweden. Sweden being at that time the great Baltic state, a struggle was inevitable as soon as Russia resolved to get a foothold on what Sweden regarded as her sea. And that brings us to Peter.

Czar Peter.

Czar Peter is the glory of the House of Romanoff. Together with an older brother, Ivan, he succeeded to the throne in the year 1682. However, as the brothers were still too young to rule, a regency was established under an older sister, Sophia. Peter, a masterful lad, accepted the situation until 1689, when, being seventeen years old, he took the government into his own hands and sent Sophia to a nunnery. As Czar Ivan was a weak and brainless creature, his existence for the few more years that he lived was no check upon Peter's autocratic control.

The situation of Russia.

In order to understand Peter's activity it is necessary to grasp the chief factors of the Russian situation at the time of his accession. In the second half of the seventeenth century the Russians were in life and manners an Asiatic people, connected with European culture solely by the two bonds of their Aryan blood and their Christian faith. Politically their association with Europe was very slight. Their state was of vast extent, comprising the plain of the Volga and including a large part of northern Asia or Siberia, but was so cooped in on the west and south by a ring of great powers—Persia, Turkey, Poland, and Sweden—that it was practically an inland monarchy without a gate upon any sea which might throw open to it the highways of the world. Finally,

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let us understand the Russian constitution. The Czar was on the way toward absolutism, but there still existed some checks upon his power— (1) the patriarch, the head of the Church, who exercised great influence in religious matters, and (2) the Streltsi, the Czar's body-guard, who, because they leaned upon the nobility and were a privileged force, felt inclined to regard themselves as superior to their master.

Peter's policy.

This situation Peter soon seized with a statesmanlike grasp, and moulded, through the efforts of a long rule, to his own purposes. He set himself, in the main, three aims, and met in all a degree of success which is fairly astonishing: he resolved to make the culture connection between Russia and Europe strong and intimate by opening the door to European civilization; he labored to open a way to the west by gaining a foothold on the Black and Baltic Seas; and lastly, he planned to rid himself of the restraint put upon his authority by the patriarch and the Streltsi.

Peter's character.

Peter is a difficult person for a modern man to understand. On one occasion he appears as a murderer, on another as a monster of sensuality, and on still another as one of nature's noblemen. We have the key to his character when we remember that he was a barbarian of genius—never anything more. Civilized standards applied to him are unjust and futile. Barbarity was an element of his blood, and all his strenuous, life-long aspirations for the nobler possessions of the mind never diminished his natural savagery. Therefore, his life is full of the strangest contrasts. With barbarian eagerness he appropriated everything that he encountered, good and evil alike, and surrendered himself, for the time being, to its sway with all his might. Certainly his distinguishing characteristic is an indomitable energy; his life burned at a white heat.

Peter's first conquest, Azov.

Peter's first chance to distinguish himself came in the year 1695. The Emperor Leopold was at that time waging

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war against the Turks, who were beginning to show the first symptoms of collapse. Seeing his opportunity, Peter resolved to make use of their embarrassment to acquire a southern outlet for Russia, and in 1696 conquered the Port of Azov, on the Black Sea. The future now opened more confidently to him, and before taking another step he determined to visit the west and study the wonders of its civilization with his own eyes.

Peter's journey of instruction.

Peter spent the year 1697–98 in travel through Germany, Holland, and England. The journey, undertaken with a large suite of fellow-students like himself, was meant purely as a voyage of instruction. Throughout its course Peter was indefatigable in his efforts to get at the bottom of things, at the methods of western government, at the sources of western wealth, at the systems of western trade and manufacture. "My part is to learn," is the motto encircling the seal which he had struck for this voyage. In Holland he hired himself out for a time as a common ship-carpenter, ships having been a passion with him from his boyhood. In addition he attended surgical lectures, visited paper-mills, flour-mills, printing-presses, in short was untiring in his efforts to assimilate not a part but the whole of western civilization. In England King William received him with especial cordiality and assisted him in every way in the prosecution of his studies. The rough Peter was the joke of the day among the courtiers and dandies, but honest folk were spurred to interest by this enthusiastic worker, who balked at no drudgery to fit himself for the task of uplifting his backward people.

Peter disbands the Streltsi and organizes a standing army.

The opportunity for putting the results of his trip to the test of practice came sooner than Peter expected. At Vienna he heard that the Streltsi had revolted. He set out post-haste for home, established order, and then took a fearful vengeance. Over a thousand of the luckless guards were

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executed with terrible tortures. Rumor reports that Peter in his savage fury himself played the headsman. Sovereign and executioner—such accumulation of offices in one hand clearly exhibits the chasm that then yawned between Europe and Russia. But no one will deny that there was method in Peter's madness. The Streltsi, who were affiliated with the nobility, had been a constant centre of disaffection, and now was the time, as Peter clearly saw, to get rid of them. Such as were not executed were dismissed, and the troop was replaced by a regular army, organized on the European pattern and dependent on the Czar.

Peter's reforms.

Peter's reforms now crowded thick and fast. Every barrier was levelled to facilitate the invasion of western influences. He invited colonists, mechanics, and shipwrights to settle in Russia. He introduced western dress. He discouraged the wearing of beards, although they enjoyed the sanction of the Church, and, armed with a pair of scissors, occasionally with his own imperial hand practised the barber's art upon his subjects. But by such measures he clashed with the most cherished superstitions of his people, and the clergy, the natural centre of conservatism, became increasingly suspicious of his policy. As their discontent was a danger to the throne and a hindrance to reforms, the Czar resolved to make them more dependent on himself. When the patriarch died in 1700, Peter committed his functions to a synod which he himself appointed and controlled, and thus the Czar became the head of the Church as he already was the head of the state.

The inevitable clash with Sweden.

After his return from the west, Peter was more desirous than ever of gaining a hold on the Baltic. Azov, on the Black Sea, was worth little to him as long as the Turks held the Dardanelles. The west, it was clear, could be best gained by the northern route. But the enterprise was far from easy. The Baltic coast was largely held by Sweden,

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and Sweden, the leading power of the north, was prepared to resist with energy any attempt to displace her.

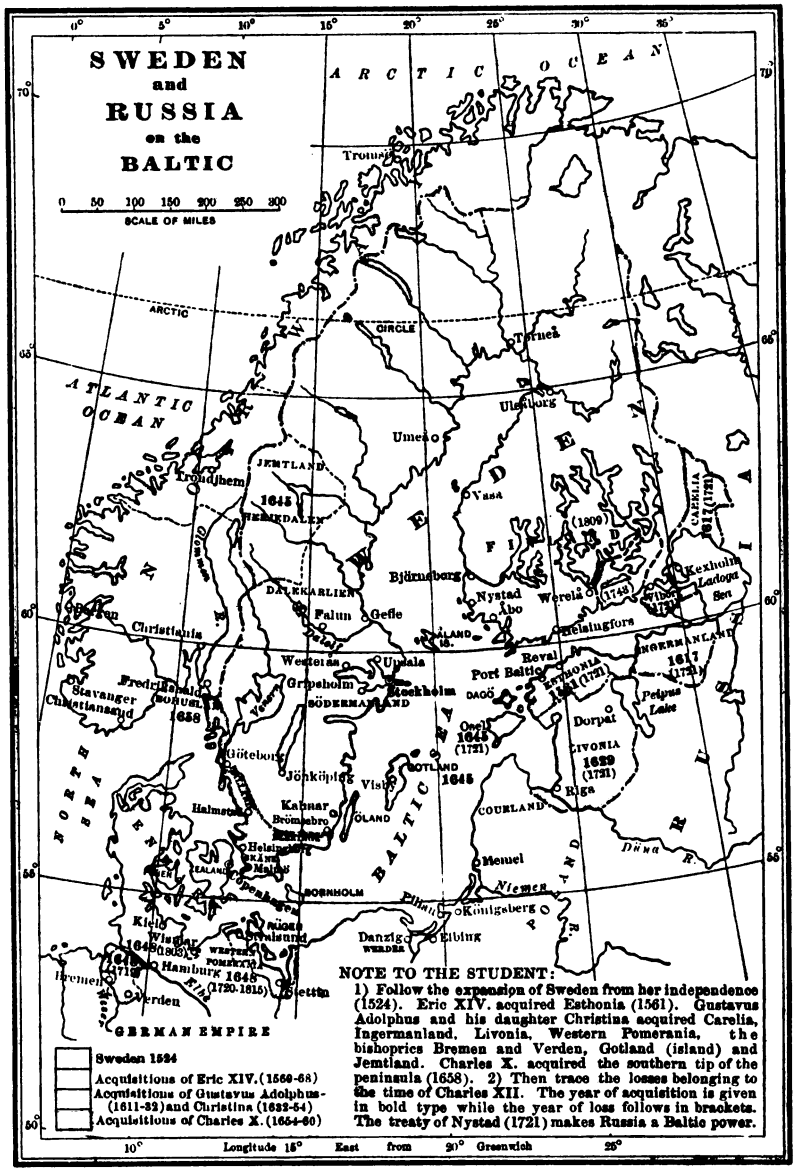
The greatness of Sweden.

The rise of Sweden to the position of the leading Baltic power dates from the heroic time of Gustavus Adolphus (1611–32). Gustavus extended his rule over the northern and eastern shores of the Baltic, and through his successful interference in the Thirty Years' War, his daughter Christina, who succeeded him, acquired, as her share in the German booty, western Pomerania and the land at the mouth of the Weser and the Elbe (Treaty of Westphalia, 1648). For a short time now Sweden took rank with the great powers of Europe. Unfortunately for her, her greatness was the result not of her wealth and civilization, but of her military prowess; and, as experience proves, a military greatness rests on precarious foundations. A weak, unmilitary ruler, or a military adventurer who overstrains the bow, may undermine it. Generally speaking the successors of Gustavus were capable sovereigns, but they injured and antagonized so many interests that it was only a question of time when their neighbors would combine against them. Denmark to the west, Brandenburg-Prussia to the south, Poland and Russia to the east, had all paid for Sweden's greatness with severe losses, and nursed a corresponding grudge against her. The long-awaited opportunity for revenge seemed at length to have arrived, when in the year 1697, Charles XII., a boy of fifteen, came to the throne. His youth and inexperience appeared to mark him as an easy victim, and Denmark, Poland, and Russia formed a league against him to recover their lost territories (1700).

Charles XII.

The allies had, however, made their reckoning without the host. Charles XII. turned out, in spite of his youth, to be the most warlike member of a warlike race—a perfect fighting demon. But aside from his unflinching courage he lacked almost every virtue of a ruler. Of a proud and ob-

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NOTE TO THE STUDENT:

1) Follow the expansion of Sweden from her independence (1524). Eric XIV. acquired Esthonia (1561). Gustavus Adolphus and his daughter Christina acquired Carelia, Ingermanland, Livonia, Western Pomerania, the bishoprics Bremen and Verden, Gotland (island) and Jemtland. Charles X. acquired the southern tip of the peninsula (1658). 2) Then trace the losses belonging to the time of Charles XII. The year of acquisition is given in bold type while the year of loss follows in brackets. The treaty of Nystad (1721) makes Russia a Baltic power.

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stinate nature he was never governed by a consideration of the welfare of his people, but always shaped his policy by his own romantic notions of honor. He was Don Quixote promoted to a throne, and though he could fight with admirable fury against windmills, he could not govern and he could not build. In the year 1700 his full character was not yet revealed, and people stopped open-mouthed with wonder, as he went up in splendor, like a rocket, in the north.

His marvellous campaign of 1700.

Before the coalition was ready to strike, young Charles gathered his forces and fell upon the enemy. As the armies of Denmark, Poland, and Russia were necessarily widely separated, he calculated that if he could meet them in turn, the likelihood of victory would be much increased. He laid his plans accordingly. In the spring of 1700 he suddenly crossed the straits from Sweden and besieged Copenhagen. The king of Denmark, unprepared for so bold a step, had to give way and sign with Charles the Peace of Travendal (August, 1700), in which he promised to remain neutral during the remainder of the war. The ink of his signature was hardly dry before Charles was off again like a flash. This time he sailed to the Gulf of Finland, where Peter with 50,000 men was besieging Narva. Charles at the head of only 8,000, advanced straightway to the attack, and his well-disciplined Swedes soon swept the confused masses of the ill-trained Russians off the field. On Peter's falling back into the interior, Charles was free to turn upon his last and most hated enemy, August the Strong, king of Poland, and before another year passed August, too, had been defeated.

He spoils all by his Polish policy.

Thus far the war had been managed admirably. Charles might have made his conditions and gone home. But passionately obstinate, he was set on humiliating August, whom he regarded as the instigator of the alliance, and whom he determined to drive out of Poland altogether. The at-

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tempt necessitated getting Poland into his hands, and proved so difficult that it led to the undoing of his first successes and, finally, to the ruin of his life.

The anarchy in Poland.

Poland was at this time in a condition hardly better than anarchy. The nobles had all the power and were sovereign on their own lands. The only remaining witnesses of a previous unity were a Diet, which never transacted any business, and an elected king, who was allowed no power and had nothing to do. In the year 1697 the Poles had even elected to the kingship a foreigner, August the Strong, elector of Saxony. Now when in the year 1701 King August was defeated by Charles, the majority of the Poles were glad rather than sorry, for August had engaged in the war without the consent of the Diet; but when Charles began making conquests in Poland, and insisted on forcing a monarch of his own choosing on the Poles, a national party naturally gathered around August, who, although a foreigner, was nevertheless the rightful king.

Charles and August.

For many years following the brilliant campaign of 1700 Charles hunted August over the marshy and wooded plains of the Slav kingdom, but though always victorious, he could never quite succeed in utterly crushing his enemy. Even the capture of Warsaw and the elevation of his dependent, Stanislaus Lesczinski, to the Polish throne, did not change the situation. Finally, in 1706, Charles desperately plunged after August into Saxony, and forced him formally to abdicate the Polish crown.

Progress of Peter on the Baltic.

The vindictiveness of her sovereign was destined to cost Sweden dear. While Charles was squandering his strength upon a foolish enterprise, his neighbor, Peter, was making excellent use of his time. The lesson of Narva had not been lost upon him. He built up a disciplined army and gradually occupied a considerable part of the Baltic coast. To show his confidence in the future, he founded in 1703, on

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the banks of the Neva, a new capital and named it St. Petersburg. Only in 1707, when he had wrung his peace from August, did the king of Sweden undertake to put a check on these Russian aggressions. To let Peter feel the whole weight of his sword, he marched against Moscow, but long before he reached that distant capital his ranks were thinned by the rigors of the Russian winter and decimated by disease. When Peter came up with Charles at Pultava (1709), the Swedes fought with their accustomed bravery, but their sufferings had worn them out. (And now Narva was avenged.) The Swedish army was literally destroyed, and Charles, accompanied by a few hundred horsemen, barely succeeded in making his escape to Turkey. The verdict of Pultava was destined to be final. Sweden stepped down from her proud position, and a new power, Russia, henceforth ruled in the north.

The verdict of Pultava.

As for Charles, the Sultan received the famous warrior hospitably and offered him Bender for a residence. There Charles remained five years—long enough to make Bender the name of one of the maddest chapters of his adventurous career. He immediately set his chief aim upon dragging Turkey into a war with Peter, but not till 1711 did the Sultan yield to the importunate pleader. A lucky campaign was about to deliver Peter into Charles's hands, when the Grand Vizier, who led the Turkish forces, accepted a bribe, and opening a lane let Peter's forces slip out of the trap into which they had blindly plunged. His unfortunate experience merely cost Peter Azov on the Black Sea. The disappointed Charles raved like a madman on seeing his foe escape, and when the Sultan, tired of the impertinence of the eternal meddler, requested him a little later to leave his territory, Charles obstinately refused to budge. It took a regular siege to bring him to understand that his entertainment in Turkey was over, and even then he fought like a

Charles in Turkey.

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maniac upon the roof of his burning house until he fell senseless amid the *débris*. At length, after an absence of five years, he turned his face homeward (1714).

Sweden surrenders much f her Baltic territory.

Charles returned too late to stem the ebb of Swedish power, for the surrounding states had taken advantage of the king's long absence to help themselves to whatever territories they coveted. He met his foes with his accustomed valor, but his country was exhausted and his people alienated. In 1718, during his siege of Frederikshald in Norway, he was shot while riding out to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. His sister, Ulrica Eleanor, who succeeded him, was compelled by the aristocratic party to agree to a serious limitation of the royal prerogative. Then the tired Swedes hastened to sign a peace with their enemies. The German states of Hanover and Prussia acquired payments out of the Swedish provinces in Germany, Hanover getting Bremen and Verden, Prussia part of Pomerania; August the Strong was recognized as king of Poland; but Peter, who had contributed most to the defeat of Charles, got, too, by the Treaty of Nystadt (1721), the lion's share of the booty. He had handed over to him Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia—in fact, all the Swedish possessions of the eastern Baltic except Finland.

Peter and the Russian opposition.

Peter was now nearing the end of his reign. His rule had brought Russia a new splendor, but he was not spared pain and chagrin. For one thing his efforts in behalf of Russian civilization were resisted by the Russians themselves, and a secret party of hide-bound conservatives looked fervently forward to the time of the accession of Peter's son and heir, Alexis. Alexis, for his part, shunned no trouble to exhibit his sympathy with the cause of reaction. With a heavy heart Peter had to face the possibility of a successor who would undo his cherished life-work. For years he took pains to win Alexis over to his views, but when his efforts

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proved without avail, he resolved, for the sake of the state, to deprive his son of the crown. The resolution we may praise, the method was terrible. It exhibited once more all of Peter's latent savagery. The Czarowitz died under the knout (1718), and the accounts which have come down to us make it probable that Peter had more than a passive share in his torture and execution.

Catherine II.

When Peter died (1725), it seemed for a time as if Russia would return to her former Asiatic condition. The government fell into the hands of a succession of dissolute, incompetent Czarinas, who let their favorites plunder the treasury and made Russia a byword in Europe, until the accession in 1762 of Catherine II. Catherine, by birth a petty princess of Germany, came to Russia as the wife of the heir-apparent, Peter. She was not only intelligent and energetic, but also wholly unscrupulous, and shortly after Peter, who was crotchety and half insane, had ascended the throne (1762), she led a revolution against him, in the course of which he was dethroned and murdered. Although she thus acquired the supreme power by means of a crime, once in possession of it she wielded it with consummate skill. Being of western birth, she naturally favored western civilization. Peter the Great himself had not been more anxious to give Russia a European varnish. More important still, she took up Peter's idea of expansion toward the west.

Catherine fixes her attention on Poland and Turkey.

Since the overthrow of Sweden, the chief resistance to the advance of Russia toward the Black and Baltic Seas had centred in Poland and Turkey. Their geographical position made them Russia's rivals and enemies, and Catherine saw her life-work in their abasement or subjection. Before she died she had succeeded in destroying Poland and in bringing Turkey to her feet.

Explanation of the anarchy of Poland.

The paralysis of Poland had been brought home to every observer in Europe, when Charles XII. of Sweden succeeded

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in holding the country for a number of years with a mere handful of troops (1702–07). The weakness of the state was due to the selfish nobles and the miserable government which they had imposed on the country. To realize its ludicrous unfitness, one need only recall the famous provision called *liberum veto*, which conferred on every member of the Diet the right to forbid by his single veto the adoption of a legislative measure. By *liberum veto* one man could absolutely stop the machinery of government. Under these circumstances Poland was agitated by local quarrels in which ambitious neighbors presently took a hand. As it is a universal law that the weak are preyed upon by the strong, Poland has herself to thank in the first place for the ruin that overtook her in the eighteenth century. But that fact, of course, does not exempt from guilt the powers that threw themselves upon her like beasts of prey and rent her asunder.

The three partitions of Poland.

The three neighbors of Poland, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had long held her in their power before they resolved to put an end to her existence by means of a partition. After extended negotiations the measure was finally arranged in the year 1772. The partition of that year—called the First Partition—did not destroy Poland; it simply peeled off slices for the lucky highwaymen. The land beyond the Dwina went to Russia, Galicia to Austria, and the province of West Prussia to Prussia. But partition once admitted in principle, the march of events could not be stopped, and a few years later the fate of Poland was sealed by a Second and a Third Partition (1793 and 1795). Poland ceased to exist as a state when her last army, gallantly led by Kosciusko, went down before the Russians, but as a people she exists to this day, and fervidly nurses in her heart the hope of resurrection.

The movement toward Constantinople.

The signal success achieved by Catherine in Poland excited her to increased efforts against the Turks. In two

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wars (first war, 1768–74; second war, 1787–92) she succeeded in utterly defeating the great Mohammedan power, and in extending her territory along the Black Sea to the Dniester. It was a solid acquisition, but it did not satisfy the ambitious Czarina. She dreamed of getting Constantinople and left that dream as a heritage to her successors, who have cherished it in their hearts and have striven persistently since her death to set up their standards on the Bosporus.

Peter and Catherine, the founders of Russian greatness.

Catherine left Russia at her death (1796) the greatest power of the north, perhaps even of Europe. Her life, like that of Peter, is stained with gross immorality, but these two have the honor of having lifted Russia almost without aid, and often in spite of herself, to her present eminent position.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

REFERENCES: WAKEMAN, Ascendancy of France, pp. 172–83, 289–96, 308–10; HASSALL, Balance of Power, Chapters VI., VII., VIII., IX., XI. (pp. 298–320); LONGMAN, Frederick the Great; HENDERSON, History of Germany, Vol. II., Chapters I.–V.; TUTTLE, History of Prussia (first volume uncritical; last three volumes, dealing with Frederick the Great, very creditable); CARLYLE, Frederick the Great (a monumental work, very partial to its hero); BRIGHT, Maria Theresa; BRIGHT, Joseph II.

SOURCE READINGS: ROBINSON, Readings, Chapter XXXII., Sections 4–8; WILHELMINE, Margravine of Baireuth, Memoirs (this princess, sister of Frederick the Great, is a most entertaining gossip).

Early history of the mark of Brandenburg.

THE modern kingdom of Prussia has developed from very inconsiderable beginnings which take us back many hundred years. Its cradle is the so-called mark or march of Brandenburg, founded in the tenth century, in those remote feudal times when Germany was practically confined between the Rhine and the Elbe and was constantly threatened on its eastern border by the incursions of the Slavs. The mark was intended to be a military outpost against these people, who, besides being of a different race, filled the lately Christianized Germans with added horror because they were still heathen. The margrave, as the head of the mark was called, was soon not content to stand upon the defensive, but carried the war into the territory of the enemy, crowded back the Slavs foot by foot, and took possession

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of their lands as far as the Oder. The mark thus came to embrace a considerable territory, lying for the most part between the Elbe on the west and the Oder on the east, and its ruler, the margrave, waxed so great that in the fourteenth century he was recognized as one of the leading princes of Germany, receiving the title of elector. Meanwhile, the first race of margraves, to whom Brandenburg owed its extension, died out, rival claimants appeared, and for some time such confusion reigned that the mark threatened to relapse into barbarism. Out of this anarchy it was saved by the fortunate accession of the House of Hohenzollern, which has guided the destiny of Brandenburg to this day.

Origin of the House of Hohenzollern.

The Hohenzollerns proved themselves in general a family of strong common-sense and steady endurance, with the result that they have raised themselves from rung to rung of the ladder of dignities, until in our day the head of the House has become German emperor. Before the year 1415, when Frederick of Hohenzollern was put in possession of the mark of Brandenburg by Emperor Sigismund, the family had not filled a large rôle in history. It originated in the south of Germany, not far from the borders of Switzerland, and gradually acquired considerable possessions around Nuremberg, but its real history begins only with its transfer to the north.

The early Hohenzollern margraves.

Frederick took up his task in Brandenburg with energy and intelligence, secured his borders, overawed his knights, and established peace upon the highways. When he died in 1440 the mark lay quietly in the hollow of his hand. One hundred years later Joachim II., the contemporary of Luther, ranged himself on the side of the Reformation without, however, arriving at anything like such a rôle in the religious history of the period as his neighbor, the elector of Saxony. It was, in fact, not until the seventeenth century that the

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margrave of Brandenburg began to outstrip all the other princes of the Empire, for under the Elector John Sigismund (1608–19) the family fell heir to two lucky legacies, which secured for it considerable territories in the extreme east and in the extreme west of Germany. In 1609, by the death of the last duke of Cleves and Juliers, John Sigismund acquired some lands on the lower Rhine, and in 1618 he succeeded to the duchy of Prussia on the Baltic.

Two important acquisitions.

History of Prussia.

What is meant by Prussia, and exactly what land was it that the margrave of Brandenburg acquired under that name in 1618? To answer this question we are obliged to pause for a moment and look backward. The name Prussia was applied in the Middle Ages to the land which lay along the eastern shore of the Baltic, and was the home of a heathen and Slav tribe called Prussians. In the thirteenth century the Teutonic Knights, one of those military orders which abounded in the age of chivalry, undertook to serve the cause of Christ by conquering the land and converting the inhabitants to Christianity. The enterprise was successful. Either the Prussians accepted the cross or were butchered and replaced by German colonists; and the Grand Master of the Knights, as their chief was called, became a great potentate and ruled over a large territory. But his glory did not last long. The land of the order bordered upon Poland, frequent wars took place with that great kingdom, and at last the Knights were defeated and had to accept an ignominious peace (Treaty of Thorn, 1466). The king of Poland divided their territory into two parts, East Prussia and West Prussia; while keeping West Prussia absolutely for himself, he gave back East Prussia to the Knights as a fief of the Polish crown. Thus West Prussia disappeared for the present in the kingdom of Poland, but East Prussia continued to have a separate and interesting history. In the sixteenth century, at the time of Luther, the Grand Master Albert, a

East Prussia and West Prussia.

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scion of the House of Hohenzollern, became a Protestant, broke up the order, and converted East Prussia into a duchy with himself as hereditary duke. His family continued to rule till 1618, when it became extinct, and the duchy fell, as we have seen, to the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg. It was an important acquisition, but it came to the margrave on the old terms; that is, he held it as a fief of the Polish crown.

Mean rôle of Brandenburg during the Thirty Years' War.

It was at this time that the Thirty Years' War broke out in Germany. The combined Hohenzollern possessions in Cleves along the lower Rhine, in Brandenburg, and in East Prussia, should have made the elector of that period, George William (1619–40), an important factor in the struggle; but as he was an exception to the Hohenzollern rule, and had neither honor, courage, nor intelligence, he vacillated between Protestants and Catholics, and lived to see his lands invaded, harried, and ruined by both. It was left to his son, Frederick William (1640–88), known as the Great Elector, to redeem his country and carry the name of Brandenburg for the first time into European politics.

Frederick William, the Great Elector.

When Frederick William succeeded to the throne (1640), the Thirty Years' War had reduced his lands to the last degree of misery. He straightway adopted a vigorous policy, expelled all foreign soldiery from his states, and in general displayed such energy that, when the Peace of Westphalia (1648) was signed, he received a number of valuable additions of territory—namely, the four secularized bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, Camin, and Magdeburg, and the eastern half of Pomerania on the Baltic. Brandenburg had a valid claim to all of Pomerania, but the claim could not be realized, as a great power, Sweden, took the western and better half for herself.

Absolute sovereignty.

Frederick William found himself on his accession at the head of three separate groups of territories, Brandenburg

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at the centre, with Cleves and Prussia to the west and east. Each of these territories constituted a distinct state with its own Diet, which not only voted but also collected the taxes; in other words, each province was ruled by the elector in strict coöperation with a representative body. Living in an age of absolutism, Frederick William soon resolved to make himself master, undermined and practically dissolved the Diets, and put himself in complete control of the revenues of his territories. Then he proceeded to form an army entirely dependent on himself, raised it by tireless efforts to 25,000 men, and became before his death a respected factor in the councils of Europe. Absolutism and the standing army are his chief contributions to the organization of the state.

Civilizing labors of the Great Elector.

But the Great Elector was no common tyrant who broke down opposition to his will in order to dispose at pleasure of the resources of his subjects. He considered himself the father of his country, called to reign in order to advance it along all lines of human endeavor. He encouraged industry and agriculture, built roads and canals to facilitate commerce, drained marshes, and called colonists from near and far in order to bring again under the plough the lands which the Thirty Years' War had turned into a wilderness. His most notable achievement in this respect is associated with the name of the Huguenots. When, by reason of Louis XIV.'s folly and bigotry, the Edict of Nantes was revoked (1685) and the Huguenots began to seek homes elsewhere, the Great Elector sent them a pressing invitation to come to him. Some twenty thousand joyfully responded, and were settled mainly around Berlin. With characteristic industry they turned the sand wastes around the northern capital into kitchen gardens, and by their intelligence communicated a powerful mental stimulus to all northern Germany.

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His hostility to Sweden.

With increased resources and an efficient army at his disposal, Frederick William was not likely to let any opportunity slip to increase his territory. As matters stood after the Peace of Westphalia, his chief rival was Sweden, ensconced in western Pomerania, only a few hours' march from Berlin. This alone would have sufficed to make Sweden an object of hatred and suspicion, even if there had not been the additional reason that Frederick William considered western Pomerania to be by right his own. Luckily for him Sweden had other enemies, more formidable than himself—Denmark, Russia, Poland, in fact the whole ring of the Baltic powers. The paramount position which Sweden had won was distasteful to them and they were ever ready to seize any opportunity for lowering her pride. In 1655 war broke out between Sweden and Poland, during which Frederick William, whose territories lay between the hostile states, was alternately coaxed and bullied by both. But he steered his course between the combatants with such unscrupulous dexterity that he came out of the war with profit and prestige, having forced the king of Poland to surrender the suzerainty of East Prussia. Henceforth the elector held that territory in full sovereignty. →

War with Sweden, 1675–79.

A few years later he introduced his new army to the world and scored an astonishing triumph. The occasion was furnished by Louis XIV., who in 1672 fell upon Holland, resolved to crush that stout little republic. Frederick William together with the emperor rose in its defence, an interference that so enraged Louis that he persuaded the Swedes, who were bound to him by treaty, to invade Brandenburg. This unexpected move obliged the elector, who was operating on the Rhine, to hurry home. Approaching by forced marches and with great stealth, he fell in June, 1675, upon the enemy at Fehrbellin and beat him signally. Fehrbellin brilliantly opens the military annals of Branden-

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burg, and what followed showed that the victory was not merely a lucky stroke, for the elector pursued the Swedes into Pomerania and conquered the province. But to his deep chagrin he got no good from his victory, for when Louis XIV. closed by the Treaty of Nimwegen (1678) the Dutch war, he stood faithfully by his ally, Sweden, and compelled the Great Elector to disgorge his Swedish conquests.

The Silesian dispute.

After this disappointment he tried to advance his interests in the province of Silesia, where the House of Hohenzollern had ancient claims to certain districts, to wit, to the four duchies of Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, and Jägerndorf. The province of Silesia belonged to the House of Hapsburg, and the emperor, who was the head of this House, refused to admit the validity of the Hohenzollern claims. As Hapsburg was more than Hohenzollern, and the emperor counted for more than the elector, the claimant got no satisfaction until the time came when the emperor, weary of the unfruitful dispute, declared his willingness to compromise. In 1686 he induced Frederick William to surrender, in return for the district of Schwiebus in Silesia, all his presumptive rights in that province. But the emperor, who was Leopold I., played a double game. While he was openly negotiating this arrangement with the elector, he was secretly persuading the elector's son, who was not on good terms with his father, to promise to give back Schwiebus on his accession. Two years later Frederick William died (1688), and his son Frederick, who succeeded him, had to live up to the bargain, but could and did maintain with much show of reason that the return of the purchase money revived his unsettled claims. This Silesian incident is of importance because it turned up again some fifty years later, when the punishment for the trickery of the Emperor Leopold was visited a hundredfold upon an innocent successor.

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The Elector Frederick (1688–1713) was a very different man from his solid, practical father. Weak and deformed from birth and incapable of mental application, he showed throughout his life that he cared much more for the pleasures of the court than for the duties of his office. Nevertheless, his reign is made memorable by the fact that he won for the elector of Brandenburg the new title of king in Prussia. As Frederick was a vassal of the Empire, the title could be assumed only with the consent of the emperor, who granted it after long delay and with much reluctance, as payment for a loan of troops in the impending War of the Spanish Succession. On January 18, 1701, the ceremony of coronation took place at Königsberg, the capital of East Prussia, and henceforth the Elector Frederick III. of Brandenburg was known by his higher title of King Frederick I. in Prussia.[1] The title king in Prussia was adopted in preference to that of king of Brandenburg, because as king of Brandenburg he would still be a vassal, whereas drawing his royal title from Prussia, which was not part of the Empire and was subject to no one, his crown would have an added lustre. The name Prussia was henceforth used as a common designation for all the Hohenzollern states, and gradually drove from common usage the older designation, Brandenburg.

The elector of Brandenburg becomes king in Prussia.

Frederick's successor, King Frederick William I. (1713–40), is a curious reversion to an older type. He was the Great Elector over again, with all his practical good sense and love of administrative detail, but without his genius for diplomatic business or his political ambition. He gave his life to the organization of the state along the lines laid down

King Frederick William I. (1713–40), organizer and administrator.

[1] The first form of the title was as here, king *in* Prussia, in order to forestall any criticism from Poland, which, having incorporated West Prussia, might have protested against the title king *of* Prussia, as implying the sovereignty over all Prussia. Nevertheless, the simpler form, king of Prussia, came before long into general use.

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by his famous ancestor, carrying to an efficiency unrivalled in his day the army and the administration. By close thrift he managed to raise his standing army to some 80,000 men, which put little Prussia in military matters in a class with the great states of Europe. And what troops they were! An iron discipline moulded them into the most precise military engine then to be found in Europe, and a corps of officers which did not buy its commissions, as everywhere else at that time, but was appointed strictly on merit, applied to it a trained and devoted service. In his civil administration also he built upon the foundation of the Great Elector. The grandfather had established the unity of the state by breaking down the local authorities, but it was left to the grandson to create a body of professional civil servants who administered the state directly under the king. The highly centralized administration of the Prussia of to-day, which with all its obvious defects, such as excessive "red tape," is still a model in its way, may be set down to the credit of King Frederick William I.

He acquires the better part of Swedish Pomerania.

For these two creations of an army and a civil service Frederick William holds a high place as a domestic king. In foreign affairs he did not do so well, being unsuited for the delicate transactions of diplomacy by his rough, blustering temper. However, the good fortune which had enabled almost every one of his ancestors to accumulate some new territory, continued to attend him, since he added a part of Swedish Pomerania to the Prussian crown. The opportunity was furnished by the downfall of Charles XII. at Pultava (1709). While he was stubbornly and stupidly lingering in Turkey, his Baltic neighbors appropriated his territories, and Frederick William, in order not to be left out in the cold, sent an army of occupation into Pomerania. Of course on his return the Swedish lion stood at bay against his aggressors; but when he died in 1718 the government

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hastened to come to terms with the victors and ceded to Prussia the mouth of the Oder with the port of Stettin. The new territory was small, but its position made it invaluable to the commercial development of the Prussian state.

His eccentricities.

This sturdy king, who has left such solid memorials behind him, made himself, through some of the strangest eccentricities which have ever characterized a human being, the laughing-stock of Europe. His conception of his office was a curious compound of Biblical patriarch and modern drill-sergeant. He had his eye upon everybody and everything. If he suspected a man of being wealthy, he would compel him to build a fine residence to improve the looks of the capital. He had a particular abhorrence of idleness; the very apple-women, while waiting in their booths for customers, were ordered to do some useful knitting, and the police were empowered to pick up any random lounger they found and put him to social service in the army. But perhaps his wildest eccentricity was his craze for tall soldiers. At Potsdam, his residence some miles from Berlin, he established a giant guard, for which he gathered recruits from all parts of the world. He petted and coddled his giants like a sentimental father, and was so completely carried away by his hobby that he, who was thrifty to the point of avarice, offered enormous prices in all markets for tall men, and did not scruple to capture them by force when they refused to enlist.

His conflict with the crown prince.

This unpolished northern bear naturally kept his elegant neighbors in convulsions of laughter by his performances. On one occasion, however, his eccentricity threatened to end not in laughter but in tears. The king's son and heir, Frederick, known afterward as the Great, was a self-willed, careless fellow, who was drawn much more to books and music than to soldiering, and grew up in all respects the very opposite of his bluff, practical father. Parent and son

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conceived a strong antipathy for each other; and when the father attempted by corporal punishment to coerce his son, the proud prince resolved to run away. In the year 1730 he tried, with the aid of some friends, to carry out his design, but was caught in the act. Frederick William almost lost his mind from rage. He threw his son into prison, and spoke wildly for a time of executing him as a common deserter from the army. When the prince was at last released he was put through such a training in the civil and military administrations, from the lowest grades upward, as perhaps no other royal personage has ever received. The stern discipline was felt as a heavy burden by Frederick, prince and *dilettante;* but Frederick, the responsible king, was enabled thereby to know every branch of his vast administration like a thumbed book.

Accession of Frederick II., 1740.

In the year 1740 Frederick II., who had now reached the age of twenty-eight, succeeded to the throne. As he had spent the last years of his father's life in rural retirement, gathering about himself a circle of intimates with whom he devoted his leisure to the pursuit of art and literature, everything else was expected of him rather than military designs and political ambition. But an unexpected opportunity carried him straight into the ranks of the leaders.

The death of Emperor Charles VI.

A few months after Frederick's accession, in October, 1740, the Emperor Charles VI., the last male of the line of Hapsburg, died. Long before his death he had sought to forestall all trouble by regulating the succession in an ordinance, called the Pragmatic Sanction, in which he named his oldest daughter, Maria Theresa, the sole heir of his undivided dominions; and during his last years he knocked at the doors of all the European cabinets to get them to indorse and guarantee his act. Such guarantees having been received from all the leading states, sometimes at a great sacrifice, he died with composed conscience, and the Arch-

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duchess Maria Theresa prepared immediately to assume the rule of Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and the other Hapsburg lands. It was at this point that Frederick stepped in. He was young, ambitious, capable, with a full treasury and a fine army, and before him in the momentary confusion at Vienna lay an unexampled opportunity to settle the old conflict over the Silesian lands. Having reflected upon the situation for some days, he took the bull by the horns and in December, 1740, marched his army into the disputed province. His act was the signal for a general rising. The German states, Bavaria and Saxony, and the great foreign powers, France and Spain, followed his example and on some trumped-up claim to the heritage of Charles VI. prepared to invade the Austrian dominions. To poor Maria Theresa's indignant remonstrances they turned a deaf ear. Thus hardly was the last male Hapsburg cold in his grave, when it was apparent that the Pragmatic Sanction was not worth the paper it was written on.

The War of the Austrian Succession begins.

It might have gone hard with Maria Theresa if she had not found splendid resources of heart and mind in herself, and if she had not gained the undivided support of the many nationalities under her sway. Her enemies were descending upon her in two main directions, the French and their German allies from the west, by way of the Danube, and Frederick of Prussia from the north. Unprepared as she was, her raw levies gave way, at first, at every point. On April 10, 1741, at Mollwitz, Frederick won a great victory over the Austrians, clinching by means of it his hold upon Silesia. In the same year the French, Saxons, and Bavarians invaded Bohemia. So complete, for the time being, was the dominion of the anti-Austrian alliance that when in January, 1742, the imperial election took place, the combined enemies of Austria were able to raise their candidate, the Elector Charles of Bavaria, to the imperial throne. The

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elector assumed his new dignity with the title of Emperor Charles VII. (1742–45), and for the first time in three hundred years the crown of the Empire rested upon another than a Hapsburg head.

Maria Theresa makes over Silesia to Frederick, 1742.

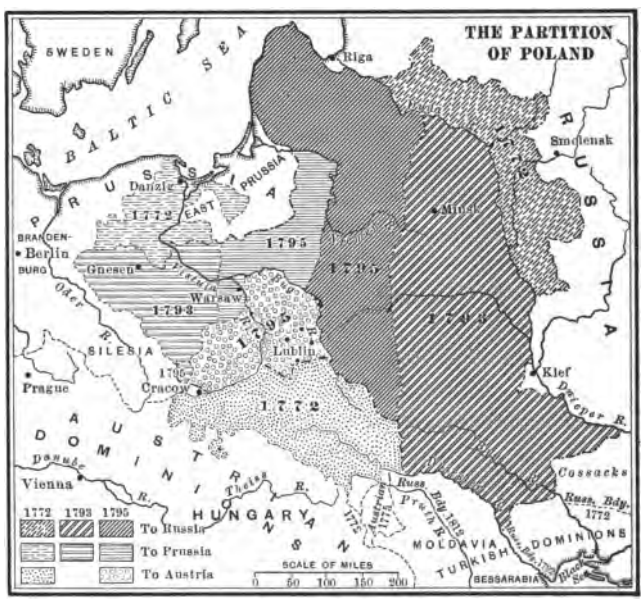
But at this point Maria Theresa's fortunes rose again. Her own magnetic enthusiasm did wonders in restoring and organizing her scattered forces. Not only was the army of the coalition driven out of Bohemia, but Bavaria, the land of the enemy, was invaded and occupied. The Prussians, who had likewise entered Bohemia in order to help their allies, were hard pressed, but saved themselves by a victory at Czaslau (May, 1742). Thereupon Maria Theresa, who saw that she could not meet so many enemies at one and the same time, declared her willingness to come to terms with her most formidable foe. In 1742 she signed with Frederick the Peace of Breslau, by which she gave up practically the whole province of Silesia. What is known in Prussia as the First Silesian War had come to an end.

Maria Theresa's success and Frederick's second attack upon her.

Maria Theresa now prosecuted the war against her other enemies with increased vigor. England and Holland, old friends of Austria, joined her, and with each new campaign the scales inclined more visibly in her favor. When the puppet emperor, Charles VII., had lost every foot of land he owned, and the Austrian armies stood triumphantly upon the Rhine, Maria Theresa could feel with elation that she was rapidly becoming the mistress of Germany. Aware that in that case he could not hold his new conquest a year, Frederick was moved to strike a second blow. In 1744 he began the Second Silesian War, in which his calculations were completely successful. He first relieved the French and the Bavarians by drawing the Austrians upon himself, and then he defeated the enemy signally at the battle of Hohenfriedberg (1745). On Christmas day, 1745, Maria

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NOTE TO THE STUDENT:

Russia and Prussia shared in all three partitions; Austria in two. After many changes in the era of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna (1815) adopted a rearrangement which has lasted until our time. By its terms Austria and Prussia kept little more than their acquisitions of 1772, giving up the rest to Russia. Thus Russia is by far the leading beneficiary from the overthrow of Poland.

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Theresa bought her second peace of Frederick by a renewed cession of Silesia (Peace of Dresden).

Close of the War of the Austrian Succession.

For a few more years the general war continued. After Frederick's retirement it was waged to some extent in Italy, but chiefly in the Austrian Netherlands, where Maurice de Saxe, a German prince in the employ of Louis XV., saved the military reputation of France by winning a number of brilliant victories over Maria Theresa and her English and Dutch allies. Finally, in 1748, everybody being tired of fighting, the contestants signed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), by which Maria Theresa was universally recognized as the sovereign of the Hapsburg dominions. Already, as early as 1745, her husband, Francis of Lorraine, had been elected emperor in place of Charles VII., who had just died in a misery deservedly visited upon him by his desire to play a rôle beyond his powers. Thus the affairs of Germany were gradually brought back into the accustomed rut. The War of the Austrian Succession had come to an end, and against everybody's prediction the empress's splendid qualities had maintained her dominions intact, with the exception of certain slight cessions in Italy and the one substantial sacrifice of Silesia.

Prussia a great power.

When Frederick retired from the Second Silesian War, the position of Prussia had been revolutionized. The king had received from his father a promising state, but it was of no great size and it enjoyed no authority in Europe. Frederick, by adding Silesia to it, gave it for the first time a sufficient extent and population to enforce a certain respect; but that acquisition alone would not have raised Prussia to the level of Austria, France, England, or Russia. It was the genius displayed by the young king at the head of Prussia which fell so heavily into the balance that Prussia was henceforth counted among the great powers of Europe.

Frederick, having thus won his military laurels, settled

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Frederick's internal labors.

down to the much harder work of governing his country with wisdom by increasing its resources and by raising its standards of civilization. The ten years of peace which followed the Second Silesian War are crowded with vigorous domestic labors. He continued the thrifty policy of his ancestors of reclaiming waste lands and settling homeseekers upon them, his greatest achievement of this kind being the drainage of the swamps along the Oder, where he was enabled to found several villages with a total of twelve hundred families. He promoted the internal traffic by new canals, and fostered home industries, especially the manufacture of woollen and linen goods. Finally, he carried through a reform of the procedure of the courts by which everybody from high to low was assured a swift and impartial justice.

The personality of Frederick.

All of Frederick's heavy political duties never destroyed in him the artistic instinct, which had come to him as a gift of nature. He engaged in literature with as much fervor as if it were his life-work, and took constant delight in composing music and in playing the flute. What pleased him most, however, was a circle of congenial friends. He was especially well inclined to Frenchmen, because that nation represented, to his mind, the highest culture of the Europe of his day. A larger or smaller circle of polished neighbors from beyond the Rhine was about him all his life to philosophize, to comment, and to laugh, and for a number of years (1750–53) he even entertained at his court the leader of contemporary thought and the quintessence of Gallic wit, Voltaire. But after a period of sentimental attachment the king and the philosopher quarrelled, and Voltaire vanished from Berlin in a cloud of scandal. In any case, the momentary conjunction of the two most characteristic figures of the eighteenth century—the one its greatest master in the field of action, the other the herald of a renovated Europe —has an historical interest.

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All this while Frederick was aware that Maria Theresa was not his friend. A high-spirited woman like the empress was not likely to forget the violence of which she had been the victim. She hoped to get back Silesia, and for years carefully laid her plans. As early as 1746 she entered upon a close alliance with Russia, which the two contracting parties understood to be aimed at Frederick. Next, her minister Kaunitz, a most skilful player of the diplomatic game, planned the bold step of an alliance with France. In the eighteenth century an alliance between Hapsburg and Bourbon, the century-old enemies, was generally held to be out of the question. The rule in Austria had been to meet the aggression of France by an alliance with England, and any other arrangement seemed to be contrary to the law of nature itself. But since the Silesian wars Austria had come to regard not France but Prussia as her leading enemy, and Maria Theresa and Kaunitz were very anxious to have France understand that thenceforth they had no further quarrel with her. Their plans were greatly aided by the following circumstance: England and France were making ready, about the middle of the century, to contest the empire of the sea.[1] Both were looking for continental allies; and as Prussia, after holding back a long time, was induced at last to sign a convention with England, France, in order not to be isolated, accepted the proffered hand of Prussia's rival, Austria. In the spring of 1756 this diplomatic revolution was an accomplished fact. The two great political questions of the day, the rivalry between England and France, involving the supremacy of the seas, and between Prussia and Austria, touching the control of Germany, were about to be fought out in the great Seven Years' War (1756–63), and the two northern and Protestant powers, England and Prussia, were to consolidate their claims and interests against the claims and interests of the

Maria Theresa plans to get back Silesia.

The diplomatic revolution of 1756.

[1] For France and England see the next chapter (Chapter XV.).

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Catholic powers, France and Austria. The remaining great power of Europe, Russia, instead of remaining neutral in a dispute which did not concern her, sided with the cabinets of Versailles and Vienna.

War between England and France. Position of Prussia.

The war between France and England was formally declared in May, 1756, and the struggle between these two powers immediately began in America, India, and on all the seas. For a moment the hope was entertained of keeping the conflict out of the Continent of Europe, but only for a moment. Then the long-threatening storm burst; and as England, for the present at least, was engaged with all her forces elsewhere, the concentrated fury of the tempest descended upon her ally, Prussia. Coolly reviewing the situation of 1756, one may fairly say that the Austrian diplomacy was justified in the belief that the hated rival of Austria was as good as annihilated. The union with France and Russia was the basis of the confidence of Maria Theresa, but there were also negotiated, or about to be negotiated, a series of treaties with such secondary powers as Saxony, Sweden, and the Empire. The plan of the Austrian cabinet was that the Austrians should march upon Frederick from the south, the French from the west, the Russians from the east, the Swedes from the north, and so shut in and choke to death the new power of which they were all jealous.

The marvellous campaign of 1757.

Frederick's one chance in this tremendous crisis was to move quickly. Before the allies had perfected their plans against him, he therefore, by a lightning stroke, occupied Saxony, and invaded Bohemia (autumn, 1756). The next year his enemies marched upon him from all points of the compass. Again he planned to meet them separately before they had united. He hurried into Bohemia, and was on the point of taking the capital, Prague, when the defeat of a part of his army at Kolin (June 18th) forced him to retreat

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to Saxony. Slowly the Austrians followed and poured into the coveted Silesia. The Russians had already arrived in East Prussia, the Swedes were in Pomerania, and the French, together with the German troops furnished by the many small states of the Empire, were marching upon Berlin. Even the friends and family of Frederick were ready to declare that all was lost, while his enemies exulted openly. He alone kept up heart, and by his courage, swiftness, and intelligence freed himself from all immediate danger by a succession of surprising victories. At Rossbach, in Thuringia, he fell (November 5, 1757), with 22,000 men, upon the combined French and Germans of twice that number, and scattered them to the winds. Then he turned like a flash from the west to the east. During his absence in Thuringia the Austrians had completed the conquest of Silesia, and were already proclaiming to the world that they had come again into their own. Just a month after Rossbach, at Leuthen, near Breslau, he signally defeated, with 34,000 men, more than twice as many Austrians, and drove them pell-mell over the passes of the Giant Mountains back into their own dominions. Fear and incapacity had already arrested the Swedes and Russians. Before winter came both had slipped away, and at Christmas, 1757, Frederick could call himself lord of an undiminished kingdom.

Altered position of Frederick from 1758 on.

In no succeeding campaign was Frederick threatened by such overwhelming forces as in 1757. By the next year England had fitted out an army, largely of German mercenaries, which, under Ferdinand of Brunswick, operated against the French upon the Rhine, and so protected Frederick from that side. As the Swedish offence, through the total incapacity of the government, displayed no energy, Frederick was permitted to make light of his Scandinavian enemy, and give all his attention to Austria and Russia. No doubt, even so, the odds against Prussia were enormous.

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Prussia was a poor, barren country of 5,000,000 inhabitants, and in men and resources Austria and Russia together outstripped her many times; but at the head of Prussia stood a military genius with a spirit that neither bent nor broke, and that fact sufficed for a while to establish an equilibrium.

Growing feebleness of Prussia.

It was Frederick's policy during the next years to meet the Austrians and Russians separately, in order to keep them from rolling down upon him with combined forces. In 1758 he succeeded in beating the Russians at Zorndorf and driving them back, but in 1759 they beat him in a battle of unexampled carnage at Kunersdorf. For a moment now it looked as if he were lost, but he somehow raised another force about him, and the end of the campaign found him not much worse off than the beginning. However, he was evidently getting feeble; the terrible strain continued through years was beginning to tell; and when on the death of George II., the new English monarch, George III. refused (1761) to pay the annual subsidy, by which alone Frederick was enabled to fill the thinned ranks of the army each year and equip the men, the proud king himself could hardly keep up his hopes.

Peace with Russia, 1762.

At this crisis Frederick was saved by a turn of the wheel of fortune. Frederick's implacable enemy, the Czarina Elizabeth, died January 5, 1762, and as Russia had no direct interest in the war, but had engaged in it only because the Czarina had a personal dislike for Frederick, there was no reason why her successor, Peter III., who was an ardent admirer of the Prussian king, should not come to terms with him. Peter in his enthusiasm even insisted on allying himself with his country's late enemy; but little came of this plan, as he was overthrown and murdered in July, 1762, and Catherine II., who succeeded him, would not engage further in the war. However, she made Frederick eternally grateful by at least ratifying the peace which Peter had concluded.

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This same year England and France came to an understanding (Preliminaries of Fontainebleau, 1762) and hostilities between them were at once suspended at all points. So there remained under arms of the great powers only Austria and Prussia; and as Austria could not hope to do unaided what she had failed to do with half of Europe at her side, Maria Theresa, although with heavy heart, resolved to come to terms. In the Peace of Hubertsburg (February, 1763) the cession of Silesia to Frederick was made final.

Third cession of Silesia, 1763.

Counting from the Peace of Hubertsburg Frederick had still twenty-three years before him, which he devoted with unslacking energy to the works of peace. And all his skill and husbandry were required to bring his exhausted country back to vigor. We now hear again, as during the first period of peace (1745–56), of extensive reforms, of the formation of provincial banks, the draining of bogs, the cutting of canals, and the encouragement of industries, in a word, of all those peaceful activities which a wise ruler has always set above the ephemeral glories of war.

Labors of peace.

Only two political events of the last period of Frederick's life claim our attention. In 1772 the ancient anarchy and weakness of Poland precipitated the event which intelligent observers had long foreseen. Her three neighbors, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, agreed to appropriate each one some convenient province of the stricken country. Frederick received as his share the province of West Prussia, which had been won by Poland from the Teutonic Order many hundred years ago, and by means of it established the territorial continuity of his eastern and central provinces. In 1778 another war threatened to break out with Austria. Joseph II., who, on the death of his father, Francis I., in 1765, had succeeded him as emperor, and who, even in the lifetime of his mother, had been admitted to a share in the government of the Hapsburg dominions, was a young man of high-flying

Frederick acquires West Prussia.

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plans and ambitions. On the extinction, in 1777, of the reigning branch of the House of Wittelsbach, he schemed to acquire Bavaria. As that would have given back to Austria her ancient predominance in Germany, Frederick II. was resolved to resist the project at all costs, and took the field. But the quarrel was patched up before a battle had been fought by the intervention of Maria Theresa, who had no taste for again trying conclusions with Prussia. The gist of the settlement was that Joseph sacrificed his ambition, and in 1779 the so-called War of the Bavarian Succession came to an end without bloodshed. In 1786 Frederick died at his favorite country-seat, called Sans Souci, which he had built for himself near Potsdam. His memorable reign had lasted forty-six years.

Frederick vetoes Joseph's attempt to absorb Bavaria.

Rivalry between Prussia and Austria.

It has already been pointed out that Frederick won for Prussia a position among the great powers of Europe. A consequence of that success, which is implied in every page of his history, is that he became the rival of Austria for the supremacy in Germany. From now on the open and secret struggle of these two states, the one trying to maintain its traditional ascendancy, the other resolved not to lose what it had won, is the main theme of German history. The fact that one lay in the north and was Protestant, while the other held the south and was Catholic, gave a sectional and religious edge to their rivalry, which continued to disturb and paralyze Germany until a new war in 1866, within the memory of the generation which is only just vanishing, swept the old issue out of existence by giving the victory and its fruits to Prussia. Thereupon Prussia planned and, in 1871, carried to successful issue a new unification of Germany, in which the student will not fail to perceive that Frederick the Great had a hand.

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CHAPTER XV

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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SOURCE READINGS: ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapter XXXIII. (The English in India and America); ADAMS and STEPHENS, Documents, No. 237 (First Mutiny Act), Nos. 240–58 (including Act of Settlement, Act of Union with Scotland, Act of Union with Ireland); COLBY, Selections from the Sources, Part VII.

The significance of the "Glorious Revolution."

THE "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 put an end to the long civil wars of England. By supplanting James with William and Mary, it secured the *Protestant religion;* by the Bill of Rights, it brought the king in all respects under the law and added the coping stone to the *constitutional monarchy;* and by the Toleration Act, it gave the right of worship to Dissenters, and paved the way for *religious peace.* Protestantism, constitutionalism, and religious peace, these three, are the main pillars of modern England, which may thus be said to have come into being with the advent of William.

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William throws England into the scale against France.

For the first few years of his reign William had to secure his throne by fighting. James II. had sought refuge with Louis XIV., and the decision of the French king to espouse the cause of James naturally threw England on the side of the allies, consisting of the emperor, the Dutch, and Spain, with whom Louis had just engaged in the war known as the War of the Palatinate (1688–97). The event marks a turning-point in the fortunes of the French king. His policy of continental aggression had been attended so far with success, especially as he had met with help rather than hindrance from England. Henceforth England was found shoulder to shoulder with the continental nations against the disturber of the public peace. This action her national interests had long ago demanded, but it was one of the penalties she paid for putting up with Stuart rule, that she was governed not for her own but for dynastic ends. It is the great merit of William that he identified himself with the nation and gave an impulse to English affairs, which, steadily gathering strength during the next century, ended not only with checking the ambition of France on the Continent, but also in wresting from her her best colonies and the undisputed supremacy of the seas. To the same reign, therefore, which witnessed the triumph of constitutionalism, we must also set down the launching of England upon her maritime and imperial policy.

William and James in Ireland.

The War of the Palatinate has been dealt with in our narrative of Louis XIV., except that phase which belongs exclusively to England. The story of this takes us to Ireland. In March, 1689, James II. crossed from France, and immediately the Irish, who were enthusiastic Catholics, gathered around him. To them James II. was the legitimate king, while to the English and Scottish settlers of Ireland, who sympathized with Protestant William, he was no better than a usurper. Again the terrible race hatred of Celt and

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Saxon flamed up in war. The Protestants were driven from their homes, and for a time it looked as if the island would fall back to its original owners. However, on July 1, 1690, William signally defeated James at the battle of the Boyne, whereupon the Stuart, who was a despicable soldier, hurried back to France, shamefully abandoning to the mercies of the English the people who had risen in his support. The measures by which the victorious William now supplemented the legislation of his predecessors broke the back of Irish resistance for a hundred years.

The relations of England and Ireland.

It will be well before we speak of these measures to review the relations of England and Ireland during the whole seventeenth century. When James I. mounted the throne in 1603, Ireland had been a dependency of the English crown for nearly five hundred years, but the English rule had rarely been more than nominal, for the government generally controlled no more than a few districts of the eastern coast, known as the English pale. The heart of the island was held by the native tribes, who, governed by their chiefs in accordance with their own laws and customs, remained practically independent. If, instead of perpetual local warfare, there had been a spirit of unity among the Irish, their conquerors might have been crowded out entirely, for not till the time of Henry VIII. did the government adopt a vigorous policy toward the smaller island, and not till the very close of Elizabeth's reign was English authority effectively established. Almost her last triumph was the putting down by her army of the great rebellion in Ulster, led by Hugh O'Neill. When James I. succeeded Elizabeth, he took a step fraught with tremendous consequences. He resolved to confiscate the northeastern districts, constituting the province of Ulster, and colonize them with English and Scottish settlers, as the best means for securing the peaceful development of the island. In 1610 the Irish

The colonization of Ulster.

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of Ulster were crowded out, with no more said than that they must find subsistence elsewhere. Since that act an implacable hatred has ruled the relations of oppressors and oppressed.

The policy of confiscation under Cromwell and William.

In the year 1641, when the troubles between king and Parliament temporarily annihilated the power of England, the Irish fell upon the colonists of Ulster, and murdered them or drove them from their homes. The English revenge for this outrage had, of course, to be delayed until the execution of the king and the victory of the Parliament had re-established the authority of the nation. At length, in 1649, Cromwell undertook to reconquer Ireland. He was successful, but not without much cruelty and bloodshed. To the long-standing race hatred, it must be remembered, had been added, since the sixteenth century, the incentive of religious passion to trouble the relations between the two peoples. In the conviction that conciliation would be interpreted as weakness, Cromwell resumed the former policy of plunder and confiscation, with the result that two-thirds of the island now passed into English hands. The dispossessed Irish were bidden to go find bread or else a grave in the bogs and forests of the west. When William III. in 1690 overthrew the next insurrection at the battle of the Boyne, the policy of confiscation scored another and a final triumph, and therewith the Irish became a people without land, without rights, and without a future. To complete their misery the Parliament at London presently struck at their commerce and industry by forbidding the importation into England of cattle and dairy products, for which the Irish soil and climate were particularly suitable, and of woollens, which had acquired a merited renown. Thus by a merciless application of the rights of conquest the Irish were made aliens in their own land, and were reduced to becoming tenants, day-laborers, and beggars.

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It has already been said that William's great merit as sovereign of England was that he enabled her to adopt a policy in harmony with her national interests. He gave his chief attention to creating a system of balance to the kingdom of France, allying himself for this purpose with the powers threatened by France, most particularly with the emperor and the Dutch. Of this combination he became the guiding spirit, and as its head waged with Louis the War of the Palatinate (1689–97), with the result that the French king drew off at the Peace of Ryswick without a gain. William spent the next years in negotiating with Louis an equitable division of the expected Spanish heritage; but when, in the year 1700, the king of Spain, Charles II., died, leaving a will in favor of the House of Bourbon, Louis XIV. disavowed the negotiations by sending his grandson, Philip, to Madrid to assume the rule of the undivided Spanish dominions. Out of this presumptuous act grew the War of the Spanish Succession, for which William had hardly prepared, by a renewal of his continental alliances, when he died (1702). Since his wife, Mary, had died some years before (1694), without issue, the crown now passed to Mary's sister Anne, but as it was foreseen, even in William's lifetime, that Anne, too, would leave no offspring, a special statute was passed, called the Act of Settlement (1701), for the purpose of regulating the succession. The act established that the crown could descend only to a Protestant, and accordingly named the Electress Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James I. through his daughter Elizabeth, as the next heir after Anne.[1]

William labors to check France.

The Act of Settlement, 1701.

We have seen that the accession of William and Mary, secured and consecrated by the Bill of Rights, definitely subjected the sovereign to the law and established the victory of the Parliament in the long struggle with the king. Not

The Parliament continues to grow at the expense of the king.

[1] See Genealogical Table of the Kings of England.

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unnaturally the Parliament now proceeded to take advantage of its hard-won ascendancy by completing the constitutional edifice after its own plan. Without interruption but without haste, act followed act in the following decades. Their general tendency was to enlarge the sphere of the Parliament at the expense of the royal power, until the entire government became gradually vested in the representatives of the people and the monarch was reduced to a position largely ornamental. Let us take note what contributions toward this result were made in the reign of William.

Annual grants and annual Parliaments.

The first subject to be considered is the important matter of supplies. The Parliaments of the past had been in the habit of voting certain revenues for the king's lifetime, thereby securing to the sovereign a relative independence and putting it in his power not to call the legislature at all. William's Parliaments now fell into the habit of *annual* grants, which greatly enhanced Parliamentary influence, since the king, merely to keep the government going, was obliged to summon the Parliament every year. This system necessarily led to the drawing up on the part of the government of an annual budget of expenditures, every item of which fell under the lynx-eyed scrutiny of the Parliament. Annual budget and annual Parliament are correlated terms, which have secured the minute control of the purse, and therewith of the government itself, to the representatives of the nation. Hardly less important was the Mutiny Act, which along with the revenue arrangements just mentioned helped assure the annual return of Parliament. By this statute military courts for the punishment of mutiny and other acts of insubordination were authorized for one year only. It was a clever device for creating an army, which, although permanent, could never become a tool of despotism, because it was always under the hand of the Parliament. Finally let us note that a step, constituting a

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magnificent tribute to the modern spirit, was the refusal (1695) to renew the act subjecting all printed matter to official censorship. Henceforth England enjoyed a free and unfettered press, which is the necessary accompaniment of a free government.

Liberty of the press, 1695.

The event of the reign of Anne (1702–14) overshadowing all others was the War of the Spanish Succession. It has been treated elsewhere, with due regard to the fact that England won in this conflict a leading position among the powers of Europe. But Marlborough's march of victory from Blenheim to Malplaquet did not excite universal approval in England. The Tories, who were recruited largely from the gentry, and who nourished in religious matters exclusive Anglican sympathies together with a sentimental attachment to the Stuart connection, had never looked upon the war with favor. As the taxes grew heavier and the national debt became more burdensome, an increasing part of the population rallied to the opposition. It was chiefly with the aid of the Whigs, who were in control of the Parliament and ministry, and of the duchess of Marlborough, who governed the easy-going, good-natured queen, that the duke was enabled to carry on his campaigns in the Netherlands and Germany. However, the duchess, who was a high-strung and arrogant lady, and not always capable of maintaining that polite discretion which is the secret of success at courts, gradually fell out of favor, and in 1711 the queen, suddenly disgusted with the whole Whig connection, dismissed the Whigs from office. There followed a ministry of Tories, with a policy of peace at any price, and the result was that Marlborough was disgraced, and that England signed with France, in 1713, the Peace of Utrecht. Although the peace involved a breach of faith toward the allies, and although the negotiators did not get all they might have had, some of the results of English success upon land and sea even Tory precipitation could

The War of the Spanish Succession.

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not sacrifice. England acquired from France Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay territory; from Spain, Gibraltar and Minorca; but, best of all, she could now count herself without a rival upon the sea.

Union of England and Scotland, 1707.

While the war was at its height an event occurred of the greatest possible importance, the effective union of England and Scotland. Ever since the accession of James I. in 1603, the two kingdoms had had a common sovereign; but, for the rest, they had remained jealously independent of each other. In 1707 the ghost of ancient rivalry and war was laid for good and all by an agreement which merged the two Parliaments in one. Scotland henceforth sent her representatives to the House of Lords and House of Commons at Westminster, and the two nations accepted the same lot in good and evil fortune. The adoption of the common name of Great Britain consecrated the partnership.

Accession of the House of Hanover.

In the year 1714 Anne died, and the crown fell to the House of Hanover, whose family name is Guelph. Since the Electress Sophia, who had been designated by the Act of Settlement as the eventual heir, had preceded Anne in death, her son, George I., now ascended the throne. Some great stroke on the part of the Pretender, the son of James II., was expected, but when it fell (1715), it turned out to be harmless. The man who claimed to be James III. was a dull sybarite, and had hardly landed when his courage failed him and he turned back to France.

George I. leans upon the Whigs.

George I. (1714–27), who owed his elevation to the Whigs, naturally chose his first advisers from that party. As the Tories were more or less compromised by their support of the Stuart claim, George clung to the Whigs for the rest of his life, and thus laid the foundations of that long era of Whig control which puts its stamp upon English history for the next fifty years.

This prolonged power of a single party helped Parliament

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in taking another and a final step toward acquiring complete control of the state; with George I. is associated the definite establishment of cabinet government. We have already seen that as far back as Charles II. the Parliament was divided into two parties, each taking its stand upon a definite programme. As things stood then, even if the majority of the Commons happened to be Tory, the king was free to choose his ministry from the Whigs. Sooner or later it was bound to appear that such a division, permitting the ministry to pull one way and the Parliament another, was harmful, and that to attain the best results the ministry would have to be in accord with the majority of the Commons. The change meant a new loss of influence by the king, but under George I. it was duly effected. George was a sluggish person, not deeply interested in England, and not even capable of understanding the language of his new subjects. He made no effort to defend his prerogative against the usurping Parliament. Henceforth the ministry was still named by the king; but as no set of men who had not first assured themselves that they were supported by a majority in the Commons would undertake the administration, the party in majority practically dictated the king's cabinet. With the annual vote of supplies, and with cabinet and party rule established as customary features of the English Government, the constitution may be said to have reached the character which distinguishes it to-day.

Development of cabinet government.

George's reign was a reign of peace. Peace was the Whig programme because it furnished just the opportunity wanted to develop the prosperity of the great middle class, upon which the Whigs depended against the combination of Tory landlord and Tory clergyman. The leading man among the Whigs was Sir Robert Walpole. One may sum up his platform by saying that he wished to settle England under the Hanoverian dynasty and give free play to the commercial

Walpole's rule of common-sense.

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and industrial energy of his countrymen. The period which he directed is, therefore, well entitled the era of common-sense. To carry out his programme, Walpole needed a steady majority in the Commons, which, following the dictates of his worldly philosophy, he got, if necessary, by corrupting members. "All those men have their price," he said, referring smilingly to a group of orators, who made a business of displaying a pretended patriotism. In spite of its gross materialism and want of moral uplift, Walpole's government was in accord with the wishes and interest of the nation and enjoyed an unusually long lease of power.

War with Spain, 1739.

It was only when the Whig leader set himself against the people that he lost his hold. George I. had meanwhile been succeeded by George II. (1727–60). The new king was, like his father, without a spark of higher intelligence, but was characterized, like him, by a certain downrightness and solidity. Under the direction of Walpole he continued the peace policy of George I. until a succession of events plunged England, and soon all Europe, again into war. For some time the relations between England and Spain had been growing strained because English merchants were beginning to invade the Spanish seas. The selfish commercial monopoly which Spain had established had been partially relaxed by an agreement called the assiento, granting to England certain trading privileges with the Spanish colonies. When the English overstepped these concessions and the Spaniards answered with penal measures, disputes arose which, growing ever more bitter, at last forced Walpole, against his will, to declare war. The next year the continental powers became involved among themselves, owing to the death of Emperor Charles VI. (1740) and the dispute about the Austrian succession. England, through her kings, who, we must never forget, were also electors of Hanover, had greater interest than ever in the Continent at this time. As Spain

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and France attacked Austria hoping to partition her, England, already at war with Spain and in sympathy with Austria, presently saw herself obliged to declare war upon Austria's enemy, France. The two distinct wars, that of England with Spain about commercial privileges and that of Austria with France and Spain, who were trying to dismember her, were, therefore, merged in one. There followed the general conflict known as the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48). As Walpole was unsuited for an enterprise of this nature, and as, moreover, he stood personally for peace, his majority melted away, and in 1742 he resigned. He had directed the destinies of England for twenty-one years (1721–42).

England's war merged in the general war.

The War of the Austrian Succession, as far as England took a hand in it, was principally waged in the Austrian Netherlands, which England agreed to help defend against France, and upon the seas and in the colonies. On the seas the English maintained their old mastery, but in the Netherlands they and the Austrians lost ground, owing chiefly to the superior ability displayed by the French commander, Marshal Saxe. In 1745 the marshal won the great battle of Fontenoy and overran all the Austrian Netherlands; but when peace was signed in 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the powers one and all restored their conquests, an exception being made only in favor of Frederick of Prussia, who was allowed to retain Silesia. The Anglo-Spanish war, originating in a vital commercial issue, had become complicated with other questions, and when peace came the English negotiators drew up a treaty which scrupulously avoided the original question in dispute.

The War of the Austrian Succession from the English point of view.

A memorable incident of this war was the attempt of Charles Edward Stuart, son of the Pretender, and known as the Young Pretender, to win back his kingdom. The defeat of the British at the battle of Fontenoy was his opportunity,

The invasion of the Young Pretender, 1745.

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and in July, 1745, he landed, with only seven men, in the Highlands of Scotland. The Highlanders were at this time still divided into clans, at the head of which stood hereditary chiefs. As Celts, they were by no means friendly to the Teutonic Lowlanders of Scotland and to the English. Moreover, they were practically self-governed, and were subjected to the Hanoverian king at London in hardly anything more than name. That Prince Charlie, as the Young Pretender was fondly called, had thrown himself upon their mercy, stirred their imagination and kindled their generous hearts to wild enthusiasm. Flocking around him in crowds, they advanced from point to point until by an irresistible rush they captured Edinburgh. For a moment the government at London lost its head, but when the troops had been hurried home from the Netherlands, it was soon found that the wild courage of feudal clans was of no avail against the discipline of a trained army. On Culloden Moor (April, 1746) the Highlanders were defeated with fearful slaughter by the king's second son, the duke of Cumberland. Prince Charlie, after many romantic adventures, made his escape, but broken apparently by his one capital misfortune, he lived ever afterward in indolence abroad, and gave no further trouble (d. 1788). His failure marks the last Stuart attempt to recover the throne.

The Regency in France.

While England, under Walpole, was preparing to assume the commercial leadership of the world, France was doing little or nothing to recover from the disasters of the War of the Spanish Succession. When the aged Louis XIV. died, in the year 1715, he was succeeded by his great-grandson, Louis XV. (1715–74). As Louis XV. was but five years old at the time, the government during his minority was exercised in his name by the nephew of Louis XIV., Philip, duke of Orleans. The regent Orleans, although a man of parts and a celebrated wit, was so passionately given to the pursuit

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of pleasure that he only plunged France deeper into economic and financial misery. Perhaps the one good point about his rule was that he did at least recognize the advantage of peace. But it was not enough to make him popular, and when he died, in 1723, he was regretted by none but the companions of his wild nights.

Cardinal Fleury.

Shortly after the regent's death Louis XV. was declared of age, and Cardinal Fleury, the confidant of the young king, assumed control of affairs (1726–43). Fleury fully accepted Orleans's policy of peace and managed besides to reduce the finances to some kind of order. Nevertheless, his administration is marked by two wars, forced on him by circumstances which he was too weak to command. In the year 1733 France became involved with Austria because of the different sides taken by these two powers in the election of a Polish king. The so-called War of the Polish Succession (1733–35) is unmemorable except for the acquisition by France of the duchy of Lorraine. Lorraine was still technically a member of the Empire, though the hold of France had been steadily tightening upon it during the last hundred years. Now it was merged with the western kingdom, thereby completing the long list of conquests which France had been making from Germany since the time of Henry II. (1552).

France acquires Lorraine.

The War of the Austrian Succession from the French point of view.

In the year 1740 the death of the Emperor Charles VI. and the accession in Austria of the young girl Maria Theresa so completely turned the head of the court party at Versailles with the brilliant chance that the situation offered of war and conquest, that Cardinal Fleury had again to yield and against his better judgment to declare war. The War of the Austrian Succession involved all Europe for eight years, as we have seen, but when it was closed by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), France recognized Maria Theresa as heir of the Hapsburg dominions, and withdrew from Germany without a gain.

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The rivalry of France and England.

As we approach the middle of the eighteenth century it becomes plain that the struggle which Louis XIV. inaugurated, with the object of making France supreme in Europe, had ended in failure. The remedy which William III. of England had proposed in order to meet this aspiration—the alliance, namely, of England, the Dutch, and Austria—had produced the desired effect, and the Continent could at last afford to forget its terror of the French name, for the French armies had been defeated and French aggression hurled back. But in spite of disasters on the Continent, and perhaps because of them, French colonial expansion went on through the reign of Louis XV., and in North America and India was entering into ever sharper rivalry with England. Plainly the aim of the French was to compensate themselves for the failure of their European plans by the acquisition of an empire beyond the seas. The plan was natural enough, but, unfortunately, came in conflict with a similar purpose of the English. Accordingly, with the progress of the century the gaze of Frenchmen and Englishmen turned across the seas, and slowly the centre of interest, which in the long struggle of France for supremacy in Europe had been the Continent, shifted to the colonies.

England and Austria dissolve partnership.

Such change of interest necessarily involved a subtle change of international relationships in Europe. In measure as France withdrew from her aggression against her continental neighbors, she conciliated her ancient enemies, Austria and the Dutch; and in measure as she emphasized her colonial ambition, she aroused the increased hostility of England. Thus, by the gradual operation of circumstances, England and France had, toward the middle of the eighteenth century, been brought face to face to fight out the great question of supremacy in the colonial world; and in this colonial question Austria, the old ally of England against France, had no immediate interest. Was Austria

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or any other continental power likely, under the circumstances, to take part in the war?

Prussia sides with England, Austria with France.

The war between France and England which followed, called the Seven Years' War (1756–63), is properly the most important struggle of the century, for it determined whether America and India were to be French or English. But though the other European powers had no direct interest in the colonial question, they nevertheless participated in the Seven Years' War. That was owing to the circumstance that the German powers, Austria and Prussia, had a quarrel of their own to settle, and that by choosing sides in the French-English conflict, Prussia allying herself with England and Austria with France, they brought about a fusion of two distinct issues in a general war.

The Seven Years' War, 1756–63.

France made great sacrifices in the Seven Years' War to maintain her position. She sent an army over the Rhine to coöperate with the Austrians against the Prussians and the English, and she prepared to defend herself in America, in India, and on the sea. Unfortunately, she was governed by an ignorant and vicious king, who was too feeble to persist in any policy, and who was no better than the puppet of a company of worthless courtiers and favorites. The real direction of French affairs during the war lay in the hands of the king's mistress, Madame de Pompadour, who never had an inkling of the real significance of the struggle.

Pitt, captain of England.

While government was thus travestied in France, the power in England fell into the hands of the capable and fiery William Pitt, known in history as the Great Commoner. His ministry lasted four memorable years (1757–61), during which time he organized the resources of the country as no one had ever organized them before. Fleets and armies were sent forth under the stimulus of the proud conviction that now or never England must establish her colonial supremacy. Under these circumstances victory

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necessarily fell to the English. The French army in Germany was badly beaten by Frederick the Great at Rossbach (1757), and later held in effective check by an Anglo-Hanoverian force under Ferdinand of Brunswick. But the most signal advantages of the English were won, as Pitt intended, not in Europe but on the sea and in the colonies. First, the French were driven from the basin of the Ohio (1758).[1] In the next year Wolfe's heroic capture of Quebec secured the course of the St. Lawrence, and therewith completed the conquest of Canada. Furthermore, in India the celebrated Lord Clive (victory of Plassey, 1757) crowded out the French and established the English influence, while the great maritime victories (1759) of Lagos and Quiberon annihilated the French fleet and gave England absolute control of the sea.

George III., 1760–1820.

In the year 1760, while the war was at its height, George II. died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. (1760–1820). George III. had one leading idea, which was to regain for himself the place in the government recently usurped by the Parliament. So completely was he taken up with this plan that the war had only a secondary interest for him. He therefore took advantage of a division in the cabinet to dismiss Pitt, who was identified with the war, from office (1761), and hotly supported Lord Bute, who succeeded to Pitt's position, in his efforts for peace. Although the English negotiators, in their haste to have done, sacrificed some important English interests, the victories of Pitt spoke for themselves. By the Peace of Paris (February 10, 1763) England acquired from France Canada and the territory east of the Mississippi River, and received the recognition of her exclusive domination in India.

Peace of Paris, 1763.

[1] The French had claimed the whole Mississippi basin, and in order to shut out the English they had built a fort on the upper Ohio. In 1755 General Braddock was sent out to destroy the French fort, but refusing to be guided by the advice of the Virginian officer, George Washington, was badly beaten. When the French fort was finally taken, it was rebaptized Pittsburg, in honor of England's great minister.

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If the Seven Years' War is England's greatest triumph, she was visited soon afterward with her severest calamity. In the year 1765 the British Parliament levied a tax upon the American colonies called the Stamp Act. When it became known that the tax aroused discontent, it was wisely withdrawn; but at the same time the principle was asserted and proclaimed that the British Parliament had the right to tax the colonies. As the Americans would not agree that they could be taxed by a body in which they were not represented, friction grew apace and soon led to mob violence. The British ministry, which was under the influence of an ambitious and obstinate king, resorted to military force, and the answer of the Americans to this measure was the resolution to revolt (Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776). In 1778 the colonists, through their agent, Benjamin Franklin, made an alliance with France, and from this time on the English were hard pressed by land and sea. Finally, the surrender of Yorktown (1781) to the American hero of the war, George Washington, disposed the mother-country to peace. In the Peace of Versailles (1783) England made France a few unimportant colonial concessions, but the really memorable feature of the peace was the recognition of the independence of the revolted English colonies under the name of the United States of America.

The American Revolution, 1776.

The Peace of Versailles, 1783.

This American success revived political agitation in Ireland. We have seen how after the battle of the Boyne (1690) the Irish were literally trampled in the dust. The loss of their land and the proscription of their faith were not their only miseries, for they were continually exposed to the insults of a minority of Protestant settlers, who ruled the island by means of a misnamed Irish Parliament. But even this Protestant assembly, from which the Catholic majority was rigorously excluded, enjoyed no independence, since it could pass no act of which the British Privy Council at

Ireland gets Home Rule, only to have it withdrawn.

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London did not approve. A movement was now set on foot to free the local legislature from the hateful English supervision; and the British ministry, frightened by the American situation, so far yielded as to pass an act in favor of Irish Legislative Independence (1782). Unfortunately, the island was not pacified by this concession, for the religious animosities existing between the Catholic natives and the Protestant colonists blazed out in civil war. Riot, bloodshed, and massacre prevailed until the younger Pitt, son of the Great Commoner and Prime Minister of England, passed (1800) an Act of Union, which not only abolished the legislative independence lately granted, but suppressed the Irish Parliament altogether by incorporating it with the British Parliament at London. Since 1800 Ireland has been ruled in all respects from the English capital.

The Act of Union did not greatly occupy the public mind. For when it was passed, the French Revolution, though it had occupied the stage for more than a decade, was still holding the attention of England and all the world riveted upon it.

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PART III

REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRACY

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CHAPTER XVI

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789–1815)

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The condition of France at the end of the eighteenth century.

IF the seventeenth century, which recalls the names of Richelieu, Colbert, and Louis XIV., was the period of the expansion of France, the eighteenth century, associated with such names as the regent Orleans, Louis XV., and Madame de Pompadour, proved the period of French decay. We have just seen that the Seven Years' War all but completed the ruin of the kingdom; the defeats of the armies of France in Germany destroyed her military prestige, and her maritime disasters overthrew her naval power and deprived her of her colonies. But the loss of her great position was not the worst consequence of the Seven Years' War. The country found itself on the conclusion of the Peace of Paris (1763) in such a condition of exhaustion that even patriots were doubtful if it would ever recover health and strength.

Decay due to system of government.

The case, at first sight, seemed anomalous. Here was a country which in point of natural resources had the advantage over every other country of Europe; its population, which was estimated at 25,000,000, was greater than that of any rival state; and the mass of the nation had no cause to fear comparison with any other people as regards industry,

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thrift, and intelligence. If this people, endowed with such natural gifts and inhabiting so fertile a territory, was brought in the second half of the eighteenth century to the verge of ruin, that circumstance cannot be ascribed to any inherent defect in the nation. It was due solely to the system of government which bound the nation together, and to the social iniquities which that government perpetuated.

The king is absolute.

The reader has seen how the French king had gradually absorbed all the functions of government, until, as Louis XIV. himself had boasted, the king had become the state. The local administration, once the prerogative of the nobility, had, with the overthrow of the nobility by Richelieu, been transferred to royal appointees, called *intendants;* the feudal assembly, or States-General, was no longer summoned; and whenever the supreme law-courts of the realm, known as Parliaments (*parlements*), tried, by refusing to register a decree, to exercise the small measure of power which they possessed, the king cowed them by a royal session, called *lit de justice.* In an address delivered on the occasion of such a *lit de justice* (1766), Louis XV. could, without fear of contradiction, make the following assertion concerning the royal prerogative: "In my person resides the sovereign authority. I hold the legislative power and share it with no one. The entire public life is sustained by me." Part and parcel of this limitless claim was the power of arbitrary arrest under a *lettre de cachet.* This was an order signed by the king by virtue of which any subject might be clapped into prison and kept there without a trial at the king's pleasure.

Louis XV. neglects his duties.

It is plain that such extensive duties as are contained in the pronouncement quoted above could be effectively exercised by only a superior person. Louis XIV. never failed at least in assiduity. But his successor, Louis XV., who was weak, frivolous, and incapable of sustained work,

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shirked the exercise of the powers which he none the less claimed as his due. Instead of laboring in his cabinet, he allowed his time to be monopolized by hunts and spectacles, and his vitality to be consumed by boundless dissipations. The result was that the business of governing fell to a greedy horde of courtiers and adventuresses, who were principally concerned with fattening their fortunes, and who sacrificed, with no more regret than is expressed by a shrug of the shoulders and a laugh, every interest of the state.

French society. The clergy and nobility.

If under Louis XV. the centralized monarchy lost its respect abroad and its energy at home, the whole social fabric which that monarchy crowned exhibited no less certain signs of disease and decay. French society, like that of all Europe, had its starting-point in the feudal principle of class. In feudal times there had been recognized two great governing classes, the clergy and the nobility, which, in return for certain fundamental services rendered by them to society, such as instruction, spiritual comfort, administration of justice, and defence of the soil, had been granted an authoritative and patriarchal position over the people. The absolute monarchy of France had, to a greater extent than the monarchy of any other country, relieved the nobles of their duties by taking upon itself the administration of justice and the maintenance of the army. But though the nobility was thus deprived of its former *duties*, it was left in possession of many of its ancient *rights*. To illustrate: it was not subjected to direct taxation in feudal times on the ground that it paid taxes in the form of military service; but now, though this service was no longer required, the exemption from taxation continued. Consequently, a right originally grounded in justice had become an iniquity. The other feudal order, the clergy, enjoyed a similar exemption from taxation, but still performed, however imperfectly, its former services.

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Clergy and nobility constitute the privileged orders.

We are now in a position to understand why the France of the eighteenth century was divided into privileged and unprivileged classes, or into subjects who paid and subjects who did not pay. Such a division was abominable, but made only the beginning of the woeful tale of confirmed and hereditary injustice. Not only had the feudal orders become mere privileged orders, who did not contribute to the support of the government in a measure even approximately proportionate to their resources, but all the honors and emoluments were reserved to them. The officers of the army, which the money of the commoners supported, were chosen exclusively from the nobility, and all the high and remunerative posts in Church and state were open only to that class. In a word, a public career in France was an affair of birth.

The resources of the privileged.

The membership of the two orders enjoying these extensive privileges was not very large. The noble families numbered 25,000 to 30,000, with an aggregate membership of perhaps 140,000; and the clergy, including the various religious orders and the parish priests, had an approximately equal enrolment. These two castes between them owned about half the land of France, so that it could be fairly claimed by the indignant people that the principle of taxation which obtained in their country was—to relieve those who did not need relief, and to burden those who were already overburdened.

Their style of life.

But if nobility and clergy were, comparatively speaking, very well off, their means were not sufficient to satisfy the demands which their style of life made upon their purses. The great nobles all maintained palaces at Paris or Versailles, where they ruined themselves by lavish entertainments, gambling, and the various excitements of an idle society. The great Church dignitaries, bishops and abbots, who were, for the most part, younger sons of noble families, emulated, and if anything outshone, the secular nobility by

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the splendor of their mode of life. The result was that the court swarmed with a bankrupt aristocracy whose one hope of salvation was to plunder the public treasury under the polite form of an office or a pension granted by the king. These pensions, running up into the millions, and lavished upon creatures whose only merit was, as a contemporary writer put it, "to have taken the trouble to be born," were a sore affliction of the budget, and the least excusable factor contributing to the annual deficit.

The upper and the lower clergy.

There is no need to say that prelates who recruited their ranks from the nobility, and like the nobility spent their days in hunting, gambling, and paying visits, were not suited to discharge their spiritual functions. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the careless life of the higher clergy was the rule among the rank and file. In the provinces there were to be found priests, on starvation salaries, who devoted themselves to their parish duties with mediæval fervor and sincerity. These hardly felt that there was any bond between them and their noble superiors, while a thousand ties united them to the people from whom they were sprung. A notable consequence of this fact was that when the Revolution broke out the lower clergy sided with the down-trodden and outraged commoners against the privileged hierarchy.

Progress of the commoners.

The commoners, or members of the Third Estate (*tiers état*), who were shut out from the places of authority reserved to the first two estates of the realm, could win distinction in only two careers, business and literature. Many succeeded in accumulating wealth both in Paris and in the provinces, until their resources, constantly increased through thrift and hard work, far exceeded those of the nobility, who, after the airy fashion of their kind, concerned themselves only with elegantly spending what they had or could borrow. And now the bourgeoisie began to outstrip the nobility in other respects. For increase of wealth brought increase of leisure,

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and put at the disposal of the middle classes the means of culture. So it came about that in the course of the eighteenth century the Third Estate had fairly become the intellectual hearth of France. For proof one need look only at the influential authors and journalists of the period, such as Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, Quesnay, Beaumarchais—they are almost without exception of the middle class.

Misery of the workingmen.

But if the well-to-do middle class, the bourgeoisie, was prospering, the same can hardly be said of the vast majority of French subjects, embracing the two classes of the urban wage-earners and the peasants. The class of wage-earners was to a large extent of recent origin, having been called into existence by the development of manufactures. Uneducated and unorganized, they were completely under the heel of the capitalist middle class, which controlled the commercial and industrial situation by means of its guilds, and shut all but old bourgeois families out of them with as much zeal as the nobles displayed in keeping their ranks free from the defilement of citizen upstarts. With reference to the wage-earners, the middle class was, in its turn, a privileged order, and we can easily understand that the oppression with which the bourgeoisie saddled the laborers was filling that body with increasing discontent.

Misery of the peasants.

But the class of which the condition was most abject was, undoubtedly, the peasants, whose obligations and burdens exceeded all justice and reason. The lord of the manor exacted rent from them, the Church levied tithes, and the king collected taxes almost at will, so that often they did not have enough left over from their toil to satisfy the barest necessities. Considerable sections of the soil of France had, therefore, in the course of the last few decades been deserted by the peasants, and in some of the most fertile regions famine had become an annual guest. An English gentleman, Arthur Young, who made a journey through France just

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before the outbreak of the Revolution, saw many smiling districts, but was frequently horrified by the bent, starved, and diseased figures which he encountered on the highways. The misery of the peasants, although real, has been frequently exaggerated by comparison with modern conditions. If we examine their status in the light of eighteenth-century standards, we are obliged to admit that they were better off than their brethren of the other continental countries. Above all, the French peasants were no longer serfs, although the memory of their former serfdom survived in certain vexatious feudal obligations, such as the *corvée*, a compulsory service of a certain number of days each year upon the roads, and the right of the chase which reserved the game to the nobility. The very fact that they were free, and relatively prosperous and enlightened, explains why their protest against irrational and irritating dues was growing constantly more vigorous.

Feudal obligations.

The demand for reform.

A government without power, dignity, and character; a society broken up into mutually hostile classes—these are the main features of the picture we have just examined. French public life in the eighteenth century had become so intolerable that its dissolution was the only possible escape out of the perennial misery. This the thinking element began to see more and more clearly; and a school of writers, known as the philosophers, made themselves its mouthpiece, and clamored loudly and ever more loudly for a radical reform of the existing order.

The intellectual revolt.

The eighteenth century is everywhere in Europe a century of criticism. Men had begun to overhaul the whole body of tradition in state, Church, and society, and to examine their institutional inheritances from the point of view of common-sense. If things had been allowed to stand hitherto because they were indorsed by the past, they were to be permitted henceforth only because they were serviceable and

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necessary to the present. Reason, in other words, was to be the rule of life. This gospel the philosophers spread from end to end of Europe. They opened fire upon everything that ran counter to reason and science—upon the intolerance of the Church, upon the privileges of the nobility, upon the abuse of the royal power, upon the viciousness of criminal justice, upon the oppression of the peasantry, and a hundred other things.

The leaders.

Although the revolt against the inheritances of a feudal past was universal in the eighteenth century, the leaders in the movement were Frenchmen. Montesquieu, Diderot, D'Alembert, are some of the brilliant writers of the period; but outshining them in fame and achievement are Voltaire and Rousseau. Although their names are commonly coupled, it is impossible to imagine two men less alike. Voltaire[1] was a man of swift intelligence, caustic wit, and, above all, a penetrating understanding of human society, while Rousseau was a dreamer, who shut his eyes upon an artificial and repulsive civilization in order to fashion with his mind a society founded upon justice, goodness, liberty, and equality. Each set in motion a current of revolt which gradually undermined the existing Church, government, and society, and left them standing as a hollow shell, to fall, at the outbreak of the Revolution, like the walls of Jericho at the first blast of the trumpet.

The chronic deficit.

A society which has become thoroughly discredited in the minds of those who compose it, is likely to go to pieces at any moment and through any chance occasion. The agency which directly led up to the French Revolution, and sounded the signal, as it were, for the dissolution of the

[1] *Voltaire* (1694–1778) wrote tragedies, epics, tales, and other pieces of pure literature, but is now chiefly remembered by his historical labors, such as The Age of Louis XIV., The Age of Louis XV., and the Essay on Manners. *Rousseau* (1712–78) wrote one novel, La Nouvelle Héloise, but his most famous productions are a treatise on government, called The Social Contract, and a wonderful autobiography, The Confessions.

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ancien régime, was the state of the finances. The debts of Louis XIV. had been increased by the wars and extravagances of Louis XV., so that by the middle of the eighteenth century France was confronted by a chronic deficit. As long as Louis XV. reigned (1715–74), the deficit was covered by fresh loans, a device which, though dangerous, did not arouse any apprehension in that monarch's feeble mind. "Things will hold together till my death," he was in the habit of saying complacently, and his friend Madame de Pompadour added, with an air of indifference, "After us, the deluge!"

Louis XVI. succeeds his grandfather in 1774.

When Louis XVI. (1774–92) succeeded his grandfather, the question of financial reform would not brook any further delay. The new king was, at his accession, only twenty years old. He was honestly desirous of helping his people, but he had, unfortunately, neither the energy nor the intelligence necessary for developing a programme and carrying it through in spite of opposition. His queen, Marie Antoinette, the daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria, was a gossamer creature, lovely and vivacious, but young, inexperienced, and utterly thoughtless.

Louis XVI. attempts reform.

The fifteen years from Louis's accession to the outbreak of the Revolution (1774–89) constitute a period of unintermitted struggle with the financial distress. The question was how to make the revenues meet the expenditures. New taxes proved no solution, for excessive taxation had already reduced the country to starvation, and where there was nothing to begin with, no tax-gatherer's art could squeeze out a return. Plainly, the only feasible solution was reform. The lavish expenditure of the court would have to be cut down; the waste and peculation in the administration would have to cease; and the taxes would have to be redistributed, so as to put the burdens upon the shoulders that could bear them. For the consideration of these matters Louis at first

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called into his cabinet a number of eminent men. Among his ministers of finance were the economist Turgot (1774–76) and the banker Necker (first ministry, 1778–81; second ministry, 1788–90). Both men, especially Turgot, who was a statesman of the first order, labored earnestly at reform, but both failed to overcome the opposition of the courtiers, who would consent neither to retrench their expenses nor to give up their privileges.

Turgot and Necker.

In consequence, there was nothing to do but continue the old ruinous policy of covering the deficit by means of loans, and by persistence in this insane policy to undermine the national credit and march helplessly toward bankruptcy. When even loans were no longer to be had, the king, driven into a corner, appealed, as a last resort, to the nation. The step was in itself a revolution, for it contained the admission that the absolute monarchy had failed. In May, 1789, there assembled at Versailles, in order to take counsel with the king about the national distress, the States-General of the realm.

Absolutism breaks down.

The States-General was the old feudal assembly of France, composed of the three orders, the clergy, the nobles, and the commoners. As the States-General had been relegated to the garret by the absolute monarchy and had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years, it was not strange that nobody was acquainted with its mode of procedure. So much was certain, however, that the assembly had formerly voted by orders, and that the vote of the privileged orders, being two against one, had always been decisive.

The States-General.

The first question which arose in the assembly was whether the feudal orders should be allowed this traditional supremacy in the revived States-General. Among the members of the Third Estate, as the commoners were called in France, there was, of course, only one answer. These men held that the new States-General was representative not of the old feudal

The States-General converts itself into the National Assembly.

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realm, but of the united nation, and that every member, therefore, must have an equal vote. In other words, the commoners maintained that the vote should not be taken by orders but individually. As they had been permitted to send twice as many delegates (six hundred) as either clergy or nobility (three hundred each), it was plain that their proposition would give them the preponderance. The clergy and nobility, therefore, offered a stubborn resistance; but after a month of contention the Third Estate cut the knot by boldly declaring itself, with or without the feudal orders, the National Assembly (June 17th). Horrified by this act of violence the king and the court tried to cow the commoners by a sharp summons to submit to the old procedure, but when they refused to be frightened, the king himself gave way, and ordered the clergy and nobility to join the Third Estate (June 27th). Thus, at the very beginning of the Revolution, the power passed out of the hands of the king and feudal orders into the hands of the people.

The National Assembly (1789–91).

The National Assembly is generous, intelligent, but without experience.

The National Assembly, which thus began its work with the avowed purpose of regenerating France, was composed of the most intelligent men the country could boast. Moreover, the members were animated by a pure enthusiasm to serve the nation. In fact, it was impossible to live in that momentous year of 1789 without feeling that an unexampled opportunity had arrived for helping France and all mankind forward on the road of civilization. In this magnanimous spirit the Assembly directed its labors from the first day. Unfortunately, a fatal defect seriously detracted from this generous disposition. The Assembly, composed of theorists totally inexperienced in the practical affairs of government, was prone to treat all questions as occasions for the dis-

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play of an emotional eloquence, and to formulate decrees beautiful in the abstract, but hopelessly out of relation to the concrete facts.

The leaders.

When the Assembly convened there existed as yet no political parties. But gradually parties began to form about the men who, by virtue of their talents, took the lead. Only a few of these can be pointed out here. The Marquis de Lafayette had won a great name for himself by the magnanimous offer of his sword, when a young man, to the cause of freedom in America. Though a nobleman by birth, he sympathized with the people and rallied all generous hearts around himself. No man during the first stage of the Revolution had a greater following within and without the Assembly. The best representative of the current dogmatic and philosophical spirit was the Abbé Sieyès. He carried to absurd lengths the idea that government was a clever mechanism, capable of being constructed in accordance with preconceived ideas. When one constitution failed, he was always ready, like a political conjurer, to shake another out of his sleeve. Then there was the lawyer Robespierre. His circle, though not large at first, made up for its smallness by the stanchness of its devotion to the dapper little man who made it his business to parade on all occasions a patriotism of an incorruptible Roman grandeur. But the member who rose head and shoulders above the rest of the Assembly was Count Mirabeau. Mirabeau was a born statesman, perhaps the only man in the whole Assembly who instinctively knew that a government could not be fashioned at will by a committee of philosophers, but to be worth anything must be the natural outcome of the moral, economic, and historical forces of the nation. He wished, therefore, while preserving the monarchy, to *nationalize* it by injecting into its dry arteries the fresh blood of the people. Abolition of privileges and a constitution with a strong

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monarchical element were the two leading articles of his programme. Unfortunately, he never succeeded in acquiring a guiding influence. In the first place, he was a noble, and therefore subject to suspicion; and, further, his early life had been a succession of scandals, which now rose up and bore witness against him, undermining confidence in his honor.

Calamitous influence of the masses.

The National Assembly had no hesitation in designating as its primary business the making of a free constitution.[1] It was of the highest importance that this work should be done in perfect security, free from the interference of popular passion and violence. But, owing to the excitement and fervor which permeated all classes, the Assembly soon fell under the domination of the street. The growth of the influence of the lower elements, who, while desiring reform, created anarchy, is the most appalling feature of the great events of 1789. If we understand this fact, we have the key to the rapid degeneration of what was, at its outset, perhaps the most promising movement in the history of mankind.

Failure of the authority of the king and the Assembly.

For this degeneration the king and the Assembly were both responsible, as well by reason of what they did as of what they did not do. It goes without saying that the sudden failure of absolutism in June, 1789, demoralized the government and threw France into unutterable confusion. Parisian mobs frequently fell upon and murdered the royal officials, while the excited peasants everywhere burned and plundered the castles of the nobles. In view of these irregularities, king and National Assembly should have united to maintain order; but unite they would not, because the king, who was under the domination of the court, distrusted the popular Assembly, and because the Assembly feared the

[1] For this reason the National Assembly is known also as the Constituent Assembly.

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designs of the court and the king. Mutual suspicion ruined harmony and played into the hands of the agitators.

The fall of the Bastille, July 14, 1789.

And, in fact, early in July it was discovered that the court was plotting to dissolve the Assembly and overawe the Parisians by means of troops. At this news a tremendous excitement seized the people. Armed crowds gathered in the streets, and clamorous to teach the court a lesson, threw themselves upon the Bastille, the ancient state prison and royal fortress in the heart of Paris. After a bloody encounter with the troops, they took the gloomy stronghold, and in their fury razed it to the ground (July 14th).

Expected reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

The fall of the Bastille was celebrated throughout France as the end of tyranny and the dawn of a new era of brotherly love. And in truth there was much suggestive of a new order of things in the destruction of a monument which had been the witness of the brutalities of mediæval justice, and of the wanton oppression of the absolute king. Now indeed we know that July 14th did not inaugurate a reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity; but it is not difficult to understand why the French people, cherishing the memory of their generous illusion, should have made July 14th their national holiday.

The emigration

The king at Versailles did not misread the lesson which the episode of the Bastille pointed. All thought of violence was temporarily dropped, and the irreconcilables of the court party, with the king's brother, the count of Artois, at their head, left France in disgust. Thus began the so-called emigration, which, continuing for the next few years, soon collected on the borders of France, chiefly along the Rhine, hundreds and thousands of the old privileged classes, who preferred exile to the threatened ascendancy of popular government.

The National Guard and Lafayette.

The storming of the Bastille promised at first to clarify the situation. Again the king made his bow to the Revo-

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lution: he paid a formal visit to Paris as a pledge of reconciliation, and was received with acclamations of joy. The well-to-do citizens for their part seemed to be resolved to have done with violence and follow the way of sensible reform. They organized a militia called the National Guard, in order to secure Paris from the excesses to which the city had lately been exposed, and made the popular Lafayette commander. However, the condition of the capital remained most precarious. The multitude of the idle was growing in numbers every day, and their misery, which the general stoppage of business steadily sharpened, was pushing them to the brink of savagery. It was a question whether Lafayette, with his citizen-guard, would be willing or able to chain the people when a new access of passion lashed them into fury.

The events of October 5th and 6th

The test came soon enough. In October the rumor of another plot on the part of the remnant of the court party ran through Paris. Excited men and women told one another that at a banquet of officers, held at Versailles, the new tricolor cockade of red, blue, and white, the passionately adored emblem of the Revolution, had been trampled under foot, and the health of the king and queen drunk amid scenes of wild enthusiasm. What really happened was an act of homage, perhaps unnecessarily provocative, on the part of the army toward its sovereign; but suspicion of the king and court had sunk so deeply into the hearts of the Parisians that every disparagement of the monarch, however unfounded, was sure to find an audience. Demagogues announced that the king was the cause of the famine in the city, and that he and the court intercepted the grain-carts outside of Paris in order to reduce the patriots to starvation. On the morning of October 5th, 10,000 women, fierce and haggard from long suffering, set out for Versailles to fetch the king to Paris. As they straggled over the muddy roads

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all the male and female riff-raff of the suburbs joined them. In the face of this tremendous danger Lafayette, the commander of the militia and guardian of the civil order, did nothing. If, as has been supposed, he remained inactive in order to get the king into his power, he has fairly merited the charge of political trickery. Certain it is that it was only when the National Guard refused to wait longer that he consented to conduct it to Versailles, and preserve peace. When he arrived there in the night, some hours after the women, he found everything in the greatest confusion; but by his timely intercession he saved the lives of the royal family, and was enabled to pose as the preserver of the monarchy. But if the rioters spared the king and queen, they declared firmly, at the same time, that they would be satisfied with nothing short of the removal of the royal residence to Paris. What could the king do but give his consent? On the 6th the terrible mænads, indulging in triumphant song and dance along the road, escorted to the palace of the Tuileries "the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy," from whose presence in their midst they promised themselves an end of misery. The National Assembly, of course, followed the king, and was quartered in the riding-school near the palace.

The people henceforth supreme.

The events of October 5th and 6th ruined the monarchy, and Lafayette cannot escape the charge of having contributed in some measure to the result. The king at the Tuileries, indeed, was now practically Lafayette's prisoner; but Lafayette himself, even though it took him some months to find it out, was henceforth the prisoner of the people. The great October days had allowed "the patriots," as the agitators euphemistically called themselves, to realize their power; and having once eaten of the poisonous fruit of violence, they would require more than Lafayette's energy to bring them back to a respect for the law. Henceforth, organized

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under clever and unscrupulous leaders, "the patriots" play the decisive rôle in the Revolution, gradually but resistlessly forcing the king, Lafayette, the National Assembly, and all the constituted authorities of France to bow down before them.

The clubs.

What greatly contributed to the power of the multitude was the excitement and vague enthusiasm which possessed all classes alike. We must always remember, in order to understand the tremendous pacé at which the Revolution developed, that the year 1789 marks an almost unparalleled agitation of public opinion. A leading symptom of this condition were the innumerable pamphlets and newspapers which accompanied the events of the day with explanatory comment, and not infrequently assumed the form of fanatical exhortation. But the most prominent and unique witness of the disturbed state of opinion was offered by the clubs. Clubs for consultation and debate became the great demand of the hour; they arose spontaneously in all quarters; in fact, every coffee-house acquired, through the passion of its frequenters, the character of a political association. Of all these unions the Jacobins and the Cordeliers soon won the most influential position. The Cordeliers recruited their numbers from among the Parisian "patriots"; Danton and Marat were among their leaders, and the tone of the club was, from the first, wildly revolutionary. The Jacobins, destined to become a name of dread throughout Europe, began much more gently. They offered a meeting-point for the constitutional and educated elements, and rapidly spread in numberless branches, or so-called daughter societies, over the length and breadth of France. However, this club, too, succumbed before long to the extreme revolutionary tendencies. Lafayette, Sieyès, and Mirabeau, whose power was at first dominant, were gradually displaced by Robespierre, and Robespierre, once in authority, skilfully used the club as

Cordeliers and Jacobins.

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a means of binding together the radical opinion of the country.

The abolition of privileges, August 4th.

Throughout the years 1789 and 1790 the National Assembly was engaged in meeting current issues, and in making a constitution. The great question of the privileges, which had proved unsolvable in the early years of Louis XVI., caused no difficulties after the National Assembly had once been constituted. On August 4, 1789, the nobility and clergy, in an access of magnanimity, renounced voluntarily their feudal rights, and demanded that they be admitted into the body of French citizens on a basis of equality. August 4th saw the last of the *corvée*, rights of the chase, guilds, and other forms of mediæval injustice, and is one of the great days of the Revolution.

Financial policy of the Assembly.

But one burning question inherited from the *ancien régime* remained—the question of the finances. Since the general cessation of business which attended the Revolution contributed to the depletion of the treasury, the National Assembly, in order to avoid imminent bankruptcy, resolved, in November, 1789, to confiscate the property of the clergy, valued at many millions, and presently issued against this new security paper money called *assignats*. The *assignats* at the beginning were a perfectly sound financial measure, but owing to the continued needs of the treasury they were multiplied to such a degree that confidence in them was undermined and their value shrunk to almost nothing. Already the time was not far off when it would take a basket of *assignats* to buy a pair of boots. Under these conditions the finances fell into frightful disorder, and by permanently deranging the business of the country contributed in no small measure to the increasing anarchy of the Revolution.

The new constitution.

In the intervals of the discharge of current business, the Assembly deliberated concerning the future constitution of

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France. By slow degrees that creation marched during the succeeding months to completion. Of course it is not possible to examine it here with any detail. If we remember that it was the work of men who had suffered from an absolute executive and were under the spell of the dogmatic philosophy of the eighteenth century, we shall understand its principal feature. This was that the executive was made purposely weak, and the power intrusted to the people and the legislature. This legislature, it was provided, should consist of one House, elected for two years by all the active citizens[1] of the kingdom. Mirabeau, the great statesman of the Revolution, fought hard to secure to the king that measure of power which an executive requires in order to be efficient; but he was unappreciated by his colleagues and distrusted by Louis, and in almost all important matters met defeat. Broken down by disappointment and reckless excesses he died (April, 1791), prophesying in his last days, with marvellous accuracy, all the ulterior stages of the Revolution.

Death of Mirabeau, April, 1791.

The unsatisfactory position of the king.

The death of Mirabeau was generally lamented, but no one had more reason for regret than the king, who had found in the statesman his most valuable supporter. Ever since October 6th, Louis had been the virtual prisoner of the populace, and had lost all influence in the shaping of events. The constitution, which in the spring of 1791 was nearing completion and would soon be forced upon him, he regarded as impracticable. While Mirabeau lived he retained some hope of a change among the legislators in his favor; but when the great orator's death robbed him of this prospect, his thoughts turned to flight as the only means of escaping from a position which he regarded as untenable,

[1] Citizens were divided by this constitution into two classes, active and passive. Only the active class, composed of those who paid a certain small contribution in the form of a direct tax, could vote.

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and which exposed his queen, his children, and all who were dear to him to the insults of the Parisian multitude.

The flight to Varennes, 1791.

The flight of the king and royal family was arranged with the greatest secrecy for the night of June 20th. But too confident of his disguise as a valet, Louis exposed himself needlessly at a post-station, only to be recognized by the son of the postmaster, who galloped through the night to give the alarm. At the village of Varennes the bells sounded the tocsin, and the excited people, summoned from their beds, would not permit the royal carriage to proceed. With safety almost in view the flight came to an end. The fugitives were brought back to Paris, where once more they had the key turned on them in their palatial prison.

The monarchical majority reinstates the king.

The flight of the king divided opinion in Paris sharply. It gave the monarchists, who had a clear majority in the Assembly, their first inkling that they had gone too far. A monarch was necessary to their constitutional fabric, and now they beheld their chosen representative attempting to elude the honor by running away from it. They began in consequence to exhibit suddenly for the captive and disarmed Louis a consideration which they had never accorded him in his happier days. Many popular leaders, on the other hand, such as Danton and Robespierre, regarded the flight as an abdication and a welcome pretext for proclaiming the republic. A struggle followed (July, 1791), the most ominous which Paris had yet witnessed; but the monarchists were still a majority, and by ordering out the National Guard against the rioters, won a victory. The Assembly, on hearing from the king the doubtful statement that he had never meant to leave the soil of France, nor employ force against his subjects, solemnly welcomed him back to office; and Louis, in return, to mark his reconciliation with his subjects, accepted and swore to observe the constitution. The Assembly was pleased to imagine that

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End of the Assembly.

it had, by its magnanimous reinstatement of the king, settled all the difficulties of the situation. By September 30, 1791, it had added the last touches to its work, and, dissolving itself, retired from the scene. Its strenuous labors of two years, from which the enthusiasts had expected the renovation of old Europe, culminated in the gift to the nation of the completed constitution. The question now was: Would the constitution at length inaugurate the prophesied era of peace and plenty?

Herewith ended what we may call the first phase of the Revolution. The privileges had been abolished and the absolute monarchy had, at the almost unanimous demand of the people, been transformed into a constitutional one; but still men and opinions continued to clash in a bloody and ominous manner. In this state of unrest a particular reason for apprehension lay in the circumstance that the government had not been given power enough to defend itself, let alone guide and control the nation.

The Legislative Assembly (*October* 1, 1791, *to September* 21, 1792).

Character of the Legislative Assembly.

The First Legislative Assembly, elected on the basis of the new constitution, met the day after the National Assembly adjourned. By a self-denying ordinance, characteristic of the mistaken magnanimity which pervaded the National Assembly, that body had voted the exclusion of its members from the succeeding legislature. The seven hundred and forty-five new rulers of France were, therefore, all men without experience. That alone constituted a grave danger, which was still further increased by the fact that most of the members were young enthusiasts, who owed their political elevation to the oratorical vigor displayed by them in the local Jacobin clubs.

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The dangerous disposition of the Assembly became apparent as soon as the members fell into party groups. Only a minority, called the Feuillants, undertook to support the constitution. On the other hand, a very influential group, called the Gironde,[1] favored the establishment of a republic. Thus constituted, the Assembly from the first day directed its energies upon destroying the monarchy. The stages by which it accomplished its purpose we need not here consider; but the supreme blow against the king was delivered when he was forced to declare war against Austria; and except for this declaration, which marks a new mile-stone in the Revolution, we can in a sketch like this forget the Legislative Assembly entirely.

Is hostile to the king.

The declaration of war against Austria resulted from the rising indignation in France over the *émigrés*, who had gathered in armed bands along the Rhine, and over the increasing demonstrations of monarchical Europe against the Revolution. Frenchmen generally supposed that Emperor Leopold II., brother of Queen Marie Antoinette, was planning a war to punish them for their opinions. This we now know was not the case; but Leopold certainly took some steps that the French were justified in interpreting as interference with their affairs. Lashed into fury by the Girondist orators, who wanted war on the ground that it would prove the means of carrying the republican faith to the ends of the earth, the Assembly assumed a more and more lofty tone with the emperor, and finally, on April 20, 1792, declared war against him.

France declares war upon Austria, April, 1792.

Unfortunately, Leopold, who was a moderate and capable man, had died a month before the declaration was made, and it was his dull and narrow-minded son, Francis II. (1792–1835), who was called to do battle with the Revolu-

Prussia in alliance with Austria.

[1] So called from the fact that the leaders of the party hailed from the department of the Gironde (Bordeaux).

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tion. But the far-sighted Leopold had not died without making some provision for an eventual war with France. In February, 1792, alarmed by the hostile attitude of the French people, he had persuaded the king of Prussia to league himself with him in a close alliance. The declaration of April 20th, therefore, though directed only at Austria, brought Prussia also into the field. Thus began the wars which were destined to carry the revolutionary ideas around the world, to sweep away landmarks and traditions, and to lock France and Europe in death-grapple for over twenty years.

Invasion and terror.

It is probable that the republican Girondists, who more than any man or party were responsible for the war and proudly looked upon it as theirs, expected an easy victory. They saw in a vision the thrones of the tyrants crumbling at the irresistible onset of the new democracy, and themselves hailed everywhere as the liberators of the human race. But the first engagement brought a sharp disappointment. The undisciplined French forces, at the mere approach of the Austrians, scampered away without risking a battle, and when the summer came it was known that the Austrians and Prussians together were preparing an invasion of France. At this unexpected turn wrath and terror filled the republicans in Paris. They began to whisper the word treason, and soon their orators dared to denounce the king publicly as the author of the national calamities. In August the allies crossed the border and proceeded on their march to the capital. Excitement rose ever to new heights, and when the duke of Brunswick, the commander-in-chief of the allies, threatened, in an outrageous proclamation, to wreak an unexampled vengeance on the capital if but a hair of the king's head were injured, the seething passion burst in a wave of uncontrollable fury. In the early morning of August 10th the mob, organized by the republican

The proclamation of Brunswick.

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leaders, marched against the Tuileries to overthrow the man whom the orators had represented as in league with foreign despots against the common mother, France.

When, during the night, the bells from the steeples rang out the preconcerted summons over the city, the king and his family knew that the supreme struggle had come. Dispersed about in small groups, the palace inmates passed the night discussing the chances of the coming day. Of all the soldiers a regiment of Swiss mercenaries could alone be counted on. That fact tells more vividly than words the pass to which the ancient monarchy of France had come. But even so, if Louis XVI. had now resolved to conquer or die at the head of this faithful guard, he might have rallied the moderates around the throne. But from this king no such action was to be expected. He could be patient, tolerant of ideas beyond his grasp, and even generous to his enemies, but he could not form a heroic resolution. At eight o'clock in the morning, seeing that the mob was making ready to storm the palace, he abandoned it to seek shelter with the Legislative Assembly. The Swiss Guard, deserted by their leader, made a brave stand. Only on the king's express order did they give up the Tuileries and attempt to effect a retreat. But the odds were against them; and the enraged populace, falling upon them, butchered most of them in the streets.

August 10, 1792.

Meanwhile, the Assembly was engaged in putting its official seal to the verdict of the mob. In the presence of Louis and the royal family the members voted the suspension of the king and ordered the election of a National Convention to constitute a new government. The present Assembly agreed to hold over till September 21st, the day when the new body was ordered to meet. Thus perished, after an existence of ten months, the constitution which had inflamed so many generous hearts.

End of the monarchy and of the constitution.

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The government seized by the democrats.

The suspension of the king left the government in the hands of the Legislative Assembly and a ministerial committee. But as the capital was in the hands of the mob and nobody paid any attention to the authorities, the real power fell into the hands of the leaders who on August 10th had the courage to strike down the king. Danton, provisional minister of justice, was the most capable member of the group. To make success doubly sure they had, in the early morning hours of August 10th, seized the municipal government of Paris and now lay intrenched in the city hall or *hôtel de ville*. Robespierre and Marat, acting from this local center, and Danton, from his post of national influence, were the real sovereigns of France during the interlude from August 10th, the day of the overthrow of the monarchy, to September 21st, the day of the meeting of the National Convention.

Democratic enthusiasm saves France.

It was plain that the first need of France in this crisis was to beat back the invasion. The victors of the tenth of August, therefore, made themselves the champions of the national defence. Their orators steeled the hearts of the citizens by infusing into them an indomitable courage. "What do we require in order to conquer?" cried Danton, the man of the hour: "to dare, and dare, and dare again." The fatherland was declared in danger; all occupations ceased but those which provided for the necessities of life and the manufacture of weapons; finally, the whole male population was ordered under arms. Whatever we may think of this travesty of government by violence and frenzied enthusiasm, it certainly accomplished its first end, for it put an army into the field composed of men who were ready to die, and so saved France.

The invasion is checked at Valmy, September 20, 1792.

Let us turn for a moment to the invasion of the two German powers, the immediate cause of these Parisian disturbances. By September 20th Brunswick, at the head of an

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army composed chiefly of Prussians, had got to Valmy. There he was so furiously cannonaded by the eastern army under the command of Dumouriez that, deeply discouraged, he ordered a retreat which became almost a rout. In a few weeks not a Prussian or Austrian was left upon French soil.

The September massacres.

This patriotic success of the radical democrats was unfortunately marred by a succession of frightful crimes. To understand them we must once again picture to ourselves the state of France. The country was in anarchy, the power in the hands of a few men, resolute to save their country. They were a thoroughly unscrupulous band, the Dantons, the Marats, and their colleagues, and since they could not afford to be disturbed in their work of equipping armies by local risings among the supporters of the king, they resolved to cow the monarchists, still perhaps a majority, by a system of terror. They haled to the prisons all whom they suspected of being devoted to the king, and in the early days of September they emptied the crowded cells by a deliberate massacre of the inmates. An armed band of assassins made the round of the prisons, and in the course of three days despatched nearly two thousand helpless victims. Not a hand was raised to stop the hideous proceedings. Paris, to all appearances, looked on stupefied.

The National Convention (September 21, 1792, to October 26, 1795).

The National Convention meets and abolishes monarchy.

The short interlude of government by an irresponsible faction came to an end when the National Convention met (September 21st) and assumed control. This body immediately declared the monarchy abolished. The defeat of the allies at Valmy about this time freed France from all immediate danger from without, and enabled the Convention to concern itself with domestic affairs.

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Parties in the Convention.

In the precarious condition in which France then found herself, everything depended upon the composition of the new governing body. It was made up of nearly eight hundred members, all republicans; but republicans of various degrees of thoroughness. The Gironde, known to us from the previous Assembly, had considerable strength, but its control of the Convention was contested by the Mountain,[1] a much more radical party, made up chiefly of men like Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, who had overthrown the monarchy and governed France during the last few weeks. The Gironde was composed of speculative philosophers, who saw no reason for further illegality and violence now that the king was deposed and that hope of mankind, the republic, assured. The men of the Mountain were of a more fierce and practical turn, and concentrated their attention in the present crisis upon the one pressing business of defending France. Between these two groups, and permanently attached to neither, was the great bulk of the deputies, called the Plain. Whichever, Gironde or Mountain, could sway the Plain, would possess a majority and rule France.

Trial and death of the king.

That the chasm between the Gironde and Mountain was absolutely unbridgeable was shown when the Convention took up the important business of the trial of the king. Ever since August 10th Louis and his family had been closely confined in prison. In December the deposed monarch was summoned before the Convention. The Girondists, amiable dreamers for the most part, would have spared his life, but the Mountainists, backed by the threats of the mob, carried the Plain with them. By a very small majority the citizen Louis Capet, once Louis XVI., was condemned to death, and on January 21, 1793, was beheaded by the newly

[1] So called from the fact that the members took their seats upon the highest tiers of benches.

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invented machine, called the guillotine. On that eventful day no hand was raised to save the monarch, who, however he may have failed in intelligence and energy, had given abundant proof of his devotion to the interests of his people as he understood them.

The first European coalition against France.

The execution of the king raised a storm of indignation over Europe, and a great coalition, which every state of importance joined, sprang to life for the purpose of punishing the regicides of the Convention. The deputies, nothing loath, accepted and even anticipated the challenge. Thus the war with Austria and Prussia promised to assume immense proportions in the coming year. The members of the great coalition planned to attack France from every side, and humble her pride in one rapid campaign. The English were to sweep down upon her coasts, the Spaniards to cross the Pyrenees and attack France from the south, the Piedmontese to pour over the Alps, and the Austrians and Prussians to operate in the eastern provinces, in Belgium, and along the Rhine. Under these circumstances the question of the defence of the French soil became again, as it had been in the summer of 1792, the supreme question of the hour. It was plain that in order to meet her enemies, who were advancing from every point of the compass, France would have to be united and display an almost superhuman energy.

Overthrow of the Gironde.

The new crisis quickly developed the animosities between Gironde and Mountain into implacable hatred. There can be no doubt that both sides were equally patriotic; but the immediate issue was not patriotism so much as the most practical means for meeting the threatening invasions. The philosophers of the Gironde insisted on presenting moral scruples about the September massacres and other irregularities, but because the case would not wait upon such niceties, the fanatics of the Mountain resolved to strike their rivals

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down. Mobs were regularly organized by Marat to invade the Convention and howl at its bar for the heads of the Girondist leaders. Finally, on June 2, 1793, thirty-one of them, among whom were the brilliant orators Vergniaud, Isnard, Brissot, and Gensonné, were excluded from the Assembly and put under arrest.

The Mountain supreme.

The fall of the Girondists meant the removal of the last check upon the ferocity of the Mountain. The power now lay in its hands to use as it would, and the most immediate end of power, the Mountain had always maintained, was the salvation of France from her enemies. To accomplish that great purpose the Mountain now deliberately returned to the successful system of the summer of 1792—the system of terror. This phase of the Revolution, which is famous as the Reign of Terror—it could appropriately be called the Long Reign of Terror, in order to distinguish it from the Short Reign of Terror of August and September, 1792, which it closely resembles—begins on June 2d, with the expulsion from the Convention of the moderate element, represented by the Gironde.

The Reign of Terror (June 2, 1793, to July 27, 1794).

A strong executive: the Committee of Public Safety.

The Short Reign of Terror of the summer of 1792 was marked by two conspicuous features: first, an energetic defence of French soil, and, secondly, a bloody repression of the monarchical opposition. The Long Reign of Terror reproduces these elements developed into a system. What is more likely to secure an energetic defence than a strong executive? The Mountain, therefore, created a committee, finally, of twelve members, called the Committee of Public Safety, which it endowed with almost unlimited powers. The Committee of Public Safety was established before the Girondists fell, but the fact that it did not acquire its sov-

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ereign influence until the summer of 1793 proves how intimately it was associated with the Mountain scheme of government.

Robespierre and Carnot.

Of the famous Committee of Public Safety the most conspicuous figure was Robespierre, for which reason the whole period of the Terror is sometimes identified with his name. But Robespierre, if most in view, was by no means the most active of the members of the committee. He was indeed the hero of the populace and the Jacobins, and swayed the Assembly by his oratory, but the men who provided for the defence of France were Carnot, Prieur, and Lindet. During the prolonged internal convulsions they kept as far as possible aloof from politics, and quietly and unostentatiously attended to business. They organized the general levy, equipped the armies, appointed the generals, and mapped out the campaigns. If France was able to confront the forces of the coalition by armies which soon exceeded the enemy in numbers and are sometimes set, though with evident exaggeration, at 1,000,000 men, this great achievement, on which hung the salvation of the country, may be written down primarily to Carnot and his two helpers.

The machinery of the Terror.

The executive having been thus efficiently provided for, it remained to systematize the repression of the anti-revolutionary elements. The machinery of the Terror, as this systematization may be called, presented, on its completion, the following features: First, there was the Law of the Suspects. By this unique measure the authorities were authorized to imprison anyone soever who was denounced to them as "suspect," a term that could be stretched to mean almost anything. It was afterward said by a wit that all France went about in those days conjugating, I am suspect, thou art suspect, he is suspect, etc. In consequence, the prisons were crowded from garret to cellar with thousands of victims. To empty them was the function of the second

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element of the terrorist machinery, called the Revolutionary Tribunal. This was a special court of justice, created for the purpose of trying the suspects with security and despatch. At first the Revolutionary Tribunal adhered to certain legal forms, but gradually it sacrificed every consideration to the demand for speed. The time came when prisoners were haled before the dread judges in companies, and condemned to death with no more ceremony than the reading of their names. There then remained for the luckless victims the third and last step in the process of the Terror: they were carted to an open square, called the Square of the Revolution, and amid staring and hooting mobs, who congregated to the spectacle every day as to a feast, their heads fell under the stroke of the guillotine.

Marat and Charlotte Corday.

Before the Terror had well begun, one of its prime instigators, Marat, was overtaken by a merited fate. Marat was the mouth-piece of the utterly ragged and lawless element of Paris. He had lately developed a thirst for blood that can only be accounted for on the ground of disease. Yet this degenerate proudly styled himself "the friend of the people." The blow which finally put an end to his wild declamations was delivered from an unexpected quarter. Many of the Girondists, who owed their overthrow primarily to Marat, had succeeded in making their escape to the provinces. At Caen, in Normandy, the fugitives aroused the sympathies of a beautiful and noble-minded girl, Charlotte Corday. Passionately afflicted by the divisions of her country, which she laid at Marat's door, she resolved by a bold stroke to free France from the oppressor. On July 13, 1793, she succeeded in forcing an entrance into his house, and stabbed him in his bath. She knew that the act meant her own death, but her exaltation did not desert her for a moment, and she passed to the guillotine a few days after the deed with the sustained calm of a martyr.

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The dramatic incidents associated with so many illustrious victims of the Terror can receive only scant justice here. In October Marie Antoinette was summoned before the Revolutionary Tribunal. She met with noble dignity the flimsy and untenable charges trumped up against her, and on receiving her death-verdict mounted the scaffold with the courage befitting a daughter of the Cæsars.[1] A few days after the death of Marie Antoinette, the imprisoned Girondists, to the number of twenty-one, travelled the same road. They were followed by the duke of Orleans and Madame Roland, each hostile to the other, but charged alike with complicity in the Girondist plots. The duke of Orleans, head of the secondary branch of the House of Bourbon, richly merited his sentence. He had crowned a life of debauchery and intrigue by siding against Louis XVI., and identifying himself with the Jacobin party, going even to the point of dropping his titles and adopting the family name of Equality (Egalité). When in 1792 he was elected to the Convention, he unblushingly committed his final act of infamy by voting for the death of the king. His very antipodes was Madame Roland.[2] Her honest but bookish enthusiasm for a regenerated public life naturally drew her to the Girondist party. For a time her house had been their meeting-place, and she herself, with the emotional extravagance characteristic of the period, had been worshipped as the muse, the Egeria, of the republican philosophers. In spite of her political immaturity, her mind had the imprint of

Death of Marie Antoinette, October, 1793.

Mr. Equality

Madame Roland.

[1] Marie Antoinette left two children, a princess of fifteen years and the dauphin, Louis, aged eight. The princess was released in 1795, but before that mercy could be extended to the boy, he had died under the inhuman treatment of his jailers. The systematic torturing to death of the poor dauphin is one of the darkest blots upon the Revolution. The dauphin is reckoned by legitimists as Louis XVII.

[2] Madame Roland owed her influence in part to her husband, who was a prominent member of the Gironde and a minister during the last months of the reign of Louis XVI. and again in the fall of 1792. Roland made his escape when the Gironde was proscribed, but committed suicide on hearing of the death of his wife.

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nobility and sustained her in her hour of trial. On mounting the steps of the guillotine, she paused to contemplate a statue of Liberty which had been erected near by. Her last words were addressed to the impassive goddess. "Liberty," she said, "what crimes are committed in thy name."

Revolt at Lyons, Toulon, and in the Vendée.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Terror was limited to Paris, or was directed merely against prominent individuals. By means of revolutionary committees and other agencies it was carried into the provinces on the ground that all France would have to be inspired with the same sentiments if the foreign invaders were to be checked. The departments, inhabited for the most part by law-abiding citizens, had from the first shown signs of restlessness under the violences of the Terror; and when the Gironde, a provincial party, fell victim to the Mountain, identified with Paris, the situation straightway became strained and led to the raising here and there of the standard of revolt. The great city of Lyons refused to recognize further the authority of the Convention, and the important naval station, Toulon, went a step farther and surrendered to the English. Here was matter for thought, but it was as nothing compared with the great rising in the west. The peasants of the region called La Vendée gathered in armed bands under the leadership of the priests and nobles, and inflamed by the desecration of the churches and the execution of the king, refused to bow their necks to the men of the Revolution.

The Convention crushes the revolts.

This difficult situation the Convention, or rather the Mountain and the Committee of Public Safety, met with unflinching resolution. It sent an army against Lyons, and in October, 1793, after a brave resistance, the city was taken. Then the Convention resolved to inflict an unheard-of punishment; it ordered the destruction of a part of the city and the erection on the ruins of a pillar with the inscription, "Lyons waged war with liberty; Lyons is no more." In

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December, 1793, the French army regained Toulon, chiefly through the skill of a young artillery officer, Napoleon Bonaparte; and, in the same month, another army scattered the insurgents of the Vendée. But discontent continuing to smoulder in the west, the Convention was roused to send one Carrier, armed with full powers, to stamp out the embers. The vengeance wreaked by this madman upon the hostile priests and peasants make the infamies of the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris look like nursery pastimes. Dissatisfied with the slow process of the guillotine, Carrier invented new methods of wholesale execution. The most ingenious, the *noyade* (drowning), consisted in loading an old vessel with one hundred, two hundred, and even eight hundred victims —men, women, and children—floating it down the Loire, and then scuttling it in the middle of the river. Thus the Terror penetrated to every corner of the land, and held all France in subjection.

Carrier at Nantes.

But its rule was, by its very nature, exceptional. Sooner or later there was bound to occur a division among its supporters, and when division came the revolutionists were sure to rage against each other, as they had once raged in common against the aristocrats. The supreme statesman of the period, Mirabeau, had foreseen that development. In a moment of prophetic insight he had declared that the Revolution, like Saturn, would end by devouring its own offspring.

Disruption of Terror inevitable.

The first signs of the disintegration of the party of the Terror began to appear in the autumn of 1793. The most radical wing, which owed its strength to its hold on the government of the city of Paris, and which followed the lead of one Hébert, had turned its particular animosity against the Catholic faith. To replace this ancient cult, despised as aristocratic, the Hébertists invented, in the spirit of reckless atheism, the so-called religion of Reason, and presently

End of the Hébertists, March, 1794.

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forced its acceptance upon the city of Paris by means of a decree which closed all places of Catholic worship. Although this extravagant measure was soon withdrawn and religious toleration reasserted in principle, Robespierre took the earliest opportunity to denounce Hébert and his ilk before the Jacobins. Finally, in March, 1794, he resolved to have done with the religious farce, and abruptly ordered the leading atheists to the guillotine.

The fall of Danton, April, 1794.

The overthrow of Hébert was followed by that of Danton, a man of a better and nobler stamp, who, falling, carried his friends and satellites down with him. A titanic nature, with a claim to real statesmanship, he had exercised a decisive influence in more than one great crisis; France had primarily him to thank for her rescue from the Prussians in the summer of 1792, and, again, the establishment of the Committee of Public Safety was largely his work. But now he was growing weary. The uninterrupted flow of blood disgusted him, and he raised his voice in behalf of mercy. Mercy, to Robespierre and his young follower, the arch-fanatic Saint Just, was nothing less than treason, and in sudden alarm at Danton's "moderation" they hurried him and his friends to the guillotine (April 5, 1794). Thus Robespierre was rid of his last rival. No wonder that it was now whispered abroad that he was planning to make himself dictator.

Supremacy of Robespierre.

And between Robespierre and a dictatorship there stood, in the spring of 1794, only one thing—his own political incapacity. That he had the Jacobins, the municipality of Paris, the Convention, and the Committee of Public Safety in his hands was proved by their servile obedience to his slightest nod. On May 7th he had the satisfaction of wresting from the Convention a decree after his own heart, for that body made solemn affirmation to the effect that the French people recognized a Supreme Being and the immor-

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tality of the soul. It sufficiently characterizes the solemn pedantry of Robespierre that he never in his life took anything so seriously as this ludicrous declaration, nor had an inkling of the absurdity of the festival of June 8, 1794, at which he presided as high-priest and proclaimed the gospel of the Supreme Being to the heathen. Two days after the ceremony he showed in what spirit he interpreted his religious leadership. In order to facilitate the condemnations, the Revolutionary Tribunal (law of June 10th) was multiplied, and its procedure stripped of the last vestiges of legal form. Then only did the executions in Paris begin in a really wholesale manner. During the six weeks before the adoption of the new religion, the numbers of those guillotined in Paris amounted to 577; during the first six weeks after its adoption, the victims reached the frightful figure of 1,356. No government office, no service rendered on the battle-field secured immunity from arrest and death. At last, the Terror invaded the Convention itself. Paralyzed by fear that body submitted, for a time, to the desperate situation. But when the uncertainty connected with living perpetually under a threat of death had become intolerable, the opponents of Robespierre banded together in order to crush him. It is only fair to say that he took no direct part in the slaughter of these last weeks. He had a certain fastidiousness distinguishing him favorably from many of his associates in the governing clique, such as Billaud, Collot, and Fouché, who covered themselves with every infamy. With his immense following among the people he could doubtless have anticipated his enemies, but instead of action he wrapped himself in a mysterious silence. On the 9th of Thermidor (July 27th)[1] he and his adherents

Proclaims the religion of the Supreme Being.

Fall of Robespierre, 9th Thermidor.

[1] The Convention, guided by its hatred of the royalist past, had introduced a new system of time reckoning. Since the birth of the republic was regarded as more important than the birth of Christ, September 21, 1792, the day when monarchy was formally abolished, was voted the be-

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were condemned by the Convention and executed the next day.

The Rule of the Thermidorians (July 27, 1794, to October 26, 1795).

The reaction in the Convention.

The fall of Robespierre put an end to the Terror, not because Robespierre was the Terror, but because the system had, after a year of wild extravagance, become so thoroughly discredited, even among its own supporters, that the Convention saw itself obliged to discontinue the methods of tyranny. The Thermidorians, many of whom had been the vilest instruments of the Terror and had dipped their hands into every kind of crime, bowed, therefore, to the force of circumstances. They studiously heaped all the blame for the past year on the dead Robespierre, and hypocritically assumed the character of life-long lovers of rule and order. Slowly the frightened bourgeoisie recovered its courage and rallied to the support of the Thermidorian party, and finally a succession of concerted blows swept the fragments of the Terror from the face of France. The municipality of Paris, the citadel of the rioters, was dissolved; the Revolutionary Tribunal dispersed; the functions of the Committee of Public Safety restricted; and, to make victory sure, the Jacobin Club, the old hearth of disorder, was closed. During the next year—the last of its long lease of power—the Convention ruled France in full accord with the moderate opinion of the majority of the citizens.

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ginning of a new era. The whole Christian calendar was at the same time declared to be tainted with aristocracy, and a new calendar devised. Its chief feature was the invention of new names for the months, such as: Nivose, Snow month; Pluviose, Rain month; Ventose, Wind month, for the winter months; Germinal, Budding month; Floréal, Flower month; Prairial, Meadow month, for the spring months, etc.

It is worthy of notice that the Convention, a body of men unhampered by tradition, discussed many laudable reforms and carried some of them into effect. One change has invited imitation. It supplanted the old and complicated system of weights and measures by the metrical system.

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But if the Terror fell, its overthrow was due not only to the horror it inspired, but also to the fact that it had accomplished its end. Its cause, as well as its excuse, was the danger of France, and whatever else be said, it had really succeeded in defending the country against the forces of a tremendous coalition. On this defence the reader must now bestow a rapid glance. In the campaign of 1793 the French had just about held their own, but in 1794 Carnot's splendid power of organization, and his gift for picking out young talents, enabled the revolutionary army to carry the war into the territory of the enemy. Thus the tables were turned and old Europe, instead of invading young France, found itself invaded. In the course of 1794 Jourdan's army conquered Belgium, and shortly after Pichegru seized Holland. Belgium, which ever since the Treaty of Utrecht had been a dominion of Austria, was annexed to France, but Holland was left independent, though reconstituted as a republic and subjected to French influence. At the same time the recrudescence of the old animosities between Prussia and Austria, this time over the question of Poland, paralyzed the military action of the German allies, and enabled the French to occupy the whole left bank of the Rhine. Incurable jealousies, coupled with the demoralizing effect of the revolutionary victories, undermined the coalition; and as the Thermidorians had no special reasons for continuing the war, they entered into negotiations with Prussia and Spain, and in the spring of 1795 concluded peace with them at Basel. By these treaties the position of France was made more secure, for England and Austria alone of the great powers were now left in the field against her.

The Terror successfully defends France.

The first revolutionary successes.

Peace with Prussia and Spain, 1795.

Meanwhile, the Convention had taken up the long-neglected task for which it had been summoned, and in the course of the year 1795 completed a new constitution for republican France. This constitution was ready to be

The Convention completes a constitution.

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promulgated when, in October, the Convention had to meet one more assault upon its authority. Animated by various motives, many factions, among them also the royalists, combined and swept down upon the Convention to cow it by violence, as they had cowed it so often. But the Convention had been for some time filled with a more valiant spirit. It resolved to defend itself, and intrusted one of its members, Barras, with the task; but Barras, who was no soldier, conferred the command of the troops upon a young officer and acquaintance of his, Napoleon Bonaparte. Bonaparte had already creditably distinguished himself at Toulon, and wanted nothing better than this opportunity.

Bonaparte defends the Convention.

When the rioters marched against the Convention on October 5th he received them with such a volley of grape-shot that they fled precipitately, leaving hundreds of their comrades dead upon the pavement. It was a new way of treating Parisian lawlessness, and it had its effect. Henceforth, in the face of such drastic measures the people lost taste for the dictation which for six years they had exercised by means of spontaneous insurrections. Bonaparte and his volley of grape-shot meant the return of *authority*, and proclaimed with brazen tongue that the chapter of revolutionary violences had come to an end.

The Constitution of the Year III.

The Convention could now perform its remaining business without hindrance. On October 26, 1795, its stormy, cowardly, and yet, in some respects, highly creditable career, came to an end, and the new constitution went immediately into effect. It is called the Constitution of the Year III., from the year of the republican calendar in which it was completed. Its main provisions mark a return from the loose, liberal notions of the constitution of 1791 to a more compact executive. Nevertheless, the tyranny of the *ancien régime* was still too near for the objections against a too-powerful executive to have vanished utterly. Therefore, a

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compromise was found in a multiple executive of five members, called the Directory. The legislative functions were intrusted to two houses—a further departure from the constitution of 1791, the single legislative house of which had proved a failure—called respectively, the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of the Ancients.

The Directory (1795–99).

The Directory plans a concentrated attack upon Austria.

The Directory wished to signalize its accession to power by terminating the war with a brilliant victory over the remaining enemies of France, England and Austria. But an attack upon England was, because of the insufficiency of French naval power, out of the question. Austria was more vulnerable, and Austria the Directory now resolved to strike with the combined armies of France. In accordance with this purpose, "the organizer of victory," Carnot, who was one of the Directors, worked out a plan by which the Austrians were to be attacked simultaneously in Germany and Italy. Two splendid armies under Jourdan and Moreau were assigned to the German task, which was regarded as by far the more important, while the Italian campaign, undertaken as a mere diversion, was intrusted to a shabbily equipped army of 30,000 men, which, through the influence of the Director Barras and in reward for services rendered, was put under the command of the defender of the Convention, General Bonaparte. But by the mere force of his genius, Bonaparte upset completely the calculations of the Directory, and gave his end of the campaign such importance that he, and not Jourdan or Moreau, decided the war.

Bonaparte in Italy, 1796.

Bonaparte's task was to beat, with his army, an army of Piedmontese and Austrians twice as large. Because of the superiority of the combined forces of the enemy, he naturally resolved to meet the Piedmontese and Austrians sep-

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arately. Everything in this plan depended on rapidity, and it was now to appear that no beast of prey could excel the stealthy approach and swift leap of this young general. Before the snows had melted from the mountains, he arrived unexpectedly before the gates of Turin, and wrested a peace from the king of Sardinia-Piedmont, by the terms of which this old enemy of France had to surrender Savoy and Nice (May, 1796). Then Bonaparte turned against the Austrians. Before May was over he had driven them out of Lombardy. The Pope and the small princes, in alarm, hastened to buy peace of France by the cession of territories and of works of art, while the Austrians tried again and again to recover their lost position. But at Arcola (November, 1796) and Rivoli (January, 1797), Bonaparte, by his astonishing alertness, beat signally the forces sent against him. Then he invaded Austria to dictate terms under the walls of Vienna.

The Peace of Campo Formio, 1797.

This sudden move of Bonaparte's determined the Emperor Francis II. to sue for peace. Although his brother, the Archduke Charles, had, at the head of the Austrian forces in Germany, beaten Jourdan and Moreau in the campaign of 1796, the emperor was not prepared to stand a siege in his capital. His offers were met half-way by Bonaparte, and out of the negotiations which ensued there grew the Peace of Campo Formio (October, 1797). By this peace Austria ceded her Belgian provinces to France, recognized a sphere of French influence in Italy, and accepted for herself the principle of the Rhine boundary, the details to be arranged later with the Empire. In return for these concessions she received the republic of Venice, which Napoleon had just seized.

Bonaparte creates two dependent republics in Italy.

Bonaparte's victories had made French influence dominant in Italy and led to an important political rearrangement. Out of his conquests in northern Italy he established two new states, the Cisalpine republic, identical,

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in the main, with the former Austrian province of Lombardy, and the Ligurian republic, evolved from the former city-state of Genoa. Both these governments were modelled upon the republic of France, and though, like Holland, nominally independent, became the timid clients of the Directory.

Bonaparte the hero of the hour.

When Bonaparte returned to France he was hailed as the national hero, who out of the bramble war had plucked the jewel peace. And what a peace he brought, a peace which French statesmen had dreamed of but never achieved, and which at last carried France on the east to her natural boundary, the Rhine! A man who had in a single campaign so distinguished himself and his country naturally stood, from now on, at the centre of affairs.

Youth of Napoleon Bonaparte.

That Napoleon Bonaparte should obtain a position of preeminence in France before he had reached the age of thirty, would never have been prophesied by the friends of his youth. He was born at Ajaccio, on the island of Corsica, in 1769, of a poor but noble family. The inhabitants of Corsica, Italians by race, had long been ruled by Genoa, when, in the year 1768, France obtained the cession of the island. At the time of Napoleon's birth, therefore, the French were occupied in establishing their rule over a people who heroically but uselessly resisted them. In the midst of the patriotic excitement caused by his country's overthrow, the young Corsican grew up. The first notable turn in his fortunes occurred when, at the age of ten, he was sent to France to be reared in a military school. In due course of time he became a lieutenant of artillery, and it was while he was holding this commission, among a people whom he still detested as the oppressors of his country, that the French Revolution broke out, and opened a free field for all who were possessed of ambition and talent. The irresistible current of events caught up and bore the young Napoleon

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along until he forgot his narrow Corsican patriotism, and merged his person and his fortunes with the destinies of France. We noted his first great feat at Toulon. The four short years which lay between Toulon and Campo Formio had carried him by rapid stages to the uppermost round of the ladder of success.

Foreign success, domestic failure.

After two years of existence the Directory had good reason to congratulate itself. Belgium, Holland, Italy, and the Rhine boundary, sounded a catalogue of brilliant achievements, and assured France an unrivalled position upon the Continent. Unfortunately, the domestic situation continued to give trouble, and the country still bled from the wounds inflicted by the fierce feuds of the past years. The Church question was no nearer solution, the royalists were gaining strength, and the finances were in hopeless confusion. The value of the paper money (*assignats*), on account of reckless multiplication, could not be kept up, and when it had shrunk to almost nothing, the Directory wiped the whole issue out of existence by the stroke of a pen. That act meant bankruptcy and the paralysis of business. Doubtless the wisest measure would have been to make peace and give France a chance to breathe. But the Directory had a different idea and chose to withdraw attention from domestic woes by throwing itself upon the last remaining foreign enemy, England.

France attacks England in Egypt.

For the year 1798 the government planned a great action in order to bring England to terms. As the lack of a fleet put a direct attack upon the island-kingdom out of the question, it was resolved to strike at England indirectly by threatening its colonies. With due secrecy an expedition was prepared at Toulon, and Bonaparte given the command. Nelson, the English admiral, was, of course, on the outlook, but Bonaparte succeeded in evading his vigilance, and in starting unmolested for Egypt (May, 1798). Egypt was a province of Turkey and the key to the east. By estab-

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lishing himself on the Nile, Bonaparte calculated that he could sever the connection of England with India and the Orient. Nelson gave chase as soon as he got wind of the movements of the French, and although he arrived too late to hinder them from landing near Alexandria, he just as effectually ruined their expedition when on August 1st he attacked and destroyed their fleet at Abukir Bay. Bonaparte might now go on conquering Egypt and all Africa—he was shut off from Europe and as good as imprisoned with his whole army.

Bonaparte in Egypt.

Thus the Egyptian campaign was lost before it had fairly begun. Bonaparte could blind his soldiers to the fact but he hardly blinded himself. Of course he did what he could to retrieve the disaster to his fleet. By his victory over the Egyptian soldiery, the Mamelukes, in the battle of the Pyramids (1798), he made himself master of the basin of the Nile, and in the next year marched to Syria. The seaport of Acre, which he besieged in order to establish communication with France, repulsed his attack, while the plague decimated his brave troops. Sick at heart Bonaparte returned to Egypt, and despairing of a change in his fortunes, suddenly resolved to desert his army. Contriving to run the English blockade, he landed on October 9, 1799, with a few friends, on the southern coast of France. Though the army he had deserted was irretrievably lost,[1] that fact was forgotten amid the rejoicings over the return of the national hero.

The Second Coalition, 1798, 1799.

The enthusiastic welcome of France, which turned Bonaparte's journey to Paris into a triumphal procession, was due partially to the new dangers to which the country had been exposed during his absence. Bonaparte was hardly known to have been shut up in Egypt, when Europe, hopeful of shaking off the French ascendancy, formed a new coalition against the hated republic. Austria and Russia, supported

[1] The army surrendered to the English in 1801.

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by English money, renewed the war, and the year 1799 was marked by a succession of victories which swept the French out of Italy and Germany. At the time when Bonaparte made his appearance in Europe, an invasion of France had narrowly been averted by the heroism of General Masséna.

The French public is weary of revolution.

No wonder that the hopes of the nation gathered around the dashing military leader. What other French general had exhibited such genius as Bonaparte, had won such glory for himself and France? Moreover, after the ceaseless agitations of ten years people were tired to death of revolution, the party spirit, and the continued uncertainty of all social relations. The Directory had made matters worse by going into national bankruptcy. Discontent was so general that optimistic royalists predicted the early return of the legitimate king. In short, France was in hopeless confusion, and everybody turned spontaneously to Bonaparte as toward a saviour.

Bonaparte overthrows the Directory, November, 1799.

The general was hardly apprised of this state of public opinion, when he resolved to act. With the aid of some conspirators in power and urged by public opinion, he overthrew the government. The only resistance was made by the Chamber of Five Hundred, which he overawed by military force. The ease with which the *coup d'état* of November 9, 1799 (18th Brumaire), was executed proves that the Constitution of the Year III. was dead in spirit before Bonaparte destroyed it in fact.

The Consulate (1799–1804).

A new constitution.

Bonaparte was now free to set up a new constitution, in which an important place should be assured to himself. Rightly he divined that what France needed and desired was a strong executive, for ten years of anarchic liberty had prepared the people for the restoration of order. The result

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of Bonaparte's deliberations with his friends was the Consular Constitution, called the Constitution of the Year VIII., by which the government was practically concentrated in the hands of one official, called the First Consul. Of course, to hoodwink democratic enthusiasts the appearances of popular government were preserved. The legislative functions were reserved to two bodies, the Tribunate and the Legislative Body, but as the former discussed bills without voting upon them, and the latter merely voted upon them without discussing them, their power was so divided that they necessarily lost all influence. Without another *coup d'état*, by means of a simple change of title, the Consul Bonaparte could, when he saw fit, evolve himself into the Emperor Napoleon, who would govern France as its absolute master.

Bonaparte again in Italy, 1800.

But for the present there was more urgent business on hand. As France was at war with the Second Coalition, there was work to be done in the field. The opportune withdrawal of Russia before the beginning of the campaign, again limited the enemies of France to England and Austria. The situation was therefore analogous to that of 1796, and the First Consul resolved to meet it by an analogous plan. Neglecting England as inaccessible, and concentrating his attention upon Austria, he sent Moreau against her into Germany, while he himself went again to meet her in Italy. By a strenuous and picturesque march in the early spring over the great St. Bernard Pass, a feat which rivalled the performance of the great Hannibal, he was enabled to strike unexpectedly across the Austrian line of retreat and force the enemy to make a stand. In the battle of Marengo, which followed (June 14, 1800), he crushed the Austrians, and recovered all Italy at a stroke. Again Francis II. had to admit the invincibility of French arms. In the Peace of Lunéville (1801) he reconfirmed all the cessions made at Campo Formio, and as the Empire

Peace of Lunéville, 1801.

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became a party to the treaty, there was now no possible defect in the cession of the left bank of the Rhine. It is this feature of the Rhine boundary which gives the Peace of Lunéville its importance. As the treaty, furthermore, redelivered Italy into Bonaparte's hands, he now re-established the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics in their old dependence upon France.

Peace with England, 1802.

Again, as in 1798, the only European state which held out against France was England. How reduce the great sea-power to peace? Bonaparte's naval resources were as inadequate now as ever, and as for striking at the colonies, the recollection of Egypt quickly disposed of the idea. Sated for the time with success and glory, he opened negotiations with the cabinet at London, and in March, 1802, concluded with England, substantially on the basis of mutual restitutions, the Peace of Amiens.

France at peace with the world.

After ten years of fighting, France was now at peace with the world. The moment was auspicious, but it remained to be seen whether she could take up the labors of peace, and while healing her many wounds, remove the apprehension with which defeated Europe regarded her.

Bonaparte undertakes the reconstruction of France.

Certainly the First Consul showed no want of vigor in attacking the domestic situation, though the picture which unrolled itself before his eyes was frightful. After the wholesale destruction and careless experimentation of the last decade, France needed, above all, a season of constructive statesmanship. Not that the Revolution had not scattered seeds in plenty, but the harvest had not been awaited with patience. The work before the First Consul during the interval of peace which followed the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens was, therefore, nothing less than the reconstruction of the whole social order. He shouldered his responsibilities with his usual ardor. In a public proclamation he announced that the disturbances were now over

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and that he considered it his special task to "close" the Revolution and to "consolidate" its results.

Return of prosperity.

One of his first cares was to bring back material prosperity. The national bankruptcy of the Directory now proved a help, for by wiping out the worthless paper money, it enabled the new ruler to make a fresh start. With the currency restored, confidence again began to prevail in business circles, and industry and commerce quickly recovered from their long depression. Surely the country had reason to boast of its "man of destiny." Sustained by an unexampled popularity, the First Consul now undertook to create a number of fundamental institutions, which, in spite of all the revolutions of the nineteenth century, exist, in the main, to this day, and are his best title to fame. Let us give these institutions a brief consideration.

A new centralized administration.

The internal administration of France had, during the Revolution, fallen into complete anarchy. The constitution of 1791 had divided France into eighty-three departments, and had supplanted the old centralized administration of royal appointees by a system of local self-government. Practically every office was made elective, requiring a political activity of which the voters, unaccustomed to the exercise of such duties, became weary. They refused to attend the polls and permitted the power to drift into the hands of a few professional politicians. Even under the Terror the system had been given up, and now with Bonaparte's advent a deliberate return was made to the traditional policy of centralized control. Over every department was put a prefect, appointed by the First Consul and reporting back to him. By this means the whole country was kept in the hands of the chief executive. With his wonderful sense of precision, Bonaparte so perfected his system that no monarch by Divine Right has ever in an equal degree made his will felt through the length and breadth of his dominion.

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Democracy, the will-o'-the-wisp pursued through blood and fire for ten agitated years, was sacrificed, but the weary people were content for the present with the order and security assured by the new administration.

The religious tangle.

Religion lay in a similarly hopeless tangle, owing to the persistent attacks of the Revolution upon the Catholic Church. A beginning had been made in 1789 by the confiscation of its property, followed in 1790 by the famous Constitution of the Clergy, by which the priests and bishops were reduced to the level of paid civil servants of the state. Against this measure the Church revolted, creating a religious chaos which led to the persecution and wholesale slaughter of orthodox priests and was diversified by such extravagant episodes as the worship of Reason and Robespierre's cult of the Supreme Being. But in spite of banishment and guillotine, Catholicism at the dawning of the new century was still alive. Bonaparte himself possessed no positive religious views, but he had a splendid sense of reality and divined the superior vigor of the persecuted faith. He had also a clear appreciation of the support which the reconstituted Church could furnish his reorganized state, and presently entered into negotiations with Rome. The result was a treaty of peace, called the Concordat (1801): the Church resigned its claim to its confiscated estates, and the state undertook the maintenance, on a liberal basis, of priests and bishops; these latter were to be nominated by the state and confirmed by the Pope. Thus, if the Church was reëstablished, it was henceforth reduced to a close dependence on the state.

The Concordat.

The new judicial system.

With administration and religion cared for, Bonaparte gave his attention to the department of justice. The legal confusion reigning in France before the Revolution is indescribable, for everything had been left to chance, and radically different systems of law were often in force in the vari-

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ous sections of the country, or even in the same province. The Revolution had made an attempt to straighten out the confusion, but had not got far when Bonaparte came to power. With his usual energy he soon had a commission of experts at work upon the creation of a uniform system, and in 1804 he was enabled to publish the result of their labors in the Civil Code, called afterward the *Code Napoléon*. No labor of similar scope had been undertaken since the days of Justinian. The Roman law was made the basis of the Napoleonic code, with such modifications as the progress of the centuries and the principles of the French Revolution made inevitable.

Bonaparte also planned a general system of state education, consisting of the primary, secondary, and college stages, but he did not get far with his project, and the regulation of school affairs, above all, the creation of a system of popular education, had to wait for more auspicious times. From what has been said, however, some idea can be gained of his constructive and methodizing genius. It is a noteworthy circumstance that his labors of peace have survived [1] all subsequent revolutions, while the conquests of his sword have been "swept in fragments to oblivion." Bonaparte as First Consul stood at the parting of the ways. He might continue the labors of peace so gloriously inaugurated, or he might return to the policy of aggressive war lately closed with the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens. We must remember that he was primarily a soldier, animated with restless energy and spurred on by boundless ambition, and that civil labors could not long engage an imagination which embraced the ends of the earth. Slowly and instinctively this man, the type of the born military conqueror, turned his eyes from France to let them rest upon Europe and the neighboring

Bonaparte at the parting of the ways.

[1] The Concordat was lately (1905) terminated by action of the state with results which cannot yet be estimated.

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continents, and girded himself for a rôle like that of Cæsar and Alexander. Therewith the Revolution entered upon its last or Napoleonic stage, in which France is only the tool for the realization of the ambition of the most extraordinary genius of modern times. He took the initial step upon this path when he modified the consular constitution in his own interest. In 1802 he had himself appointed consul for life, and in May, 1804, dropped the transparent pretence of republicanism by the assumption of the title emperor of the French. The final step in this transformation scene occurred in December of the same year, when in the presence of the Pope, and with all the formality and pomp of the ancient régime, he crowned himself and his wife Josephine before the high altar of the Cathedral Church of Paris.

Napoleon, emperor of the French.

The Empire (1804–15).

Napoleon's action in Holland and Italy.

Napoleon's first imperial measure was the appropriation of the subject-republics by which France was surrounded. At his nod the Batavian republic bloomed forth as the kingdom of Holland, and thankfully accepted Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, as king. In like manner the Cisalpine republic became the kingdom of Italy and offered the crown to its powerful protector. In May, 1805, Napoleon crossed the Alps, and had himself crowned king at Milan. The Ligurian republic now had no further *raison d'être*, and like Piedmont, some years before, was quietly incorporated with France.

Renewal of the war with England.

Even before these signal acts of aggression the confidence with which the European governments had first greeted Napoleon had vanished. Slowly they began to divine in him the insatiable conqueror, who was only awaiting an opportunity to swallow them all. As early as 1803 continued disputes over the Peace of Amiens had led to a renewal of the

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war with England. Napoleon now prepared a great naval armament at Boulogne, and for a year, at least, England was agitated by the prospect of a descent upon her coasts; but the lack of an adequate fleet made Napoleon's project chimerical from the first, and in the summer of 1805 he unreservedly gave it up.

The Third Coalition, England, Austria, Russia.

He gave it up because England had succeeded in playing upon the fears of Austria and Russia until they formed a new coalition to curb the growing power of the emperor. No sooner had Napoleon got wind of the state of affairs than he abandoned his quixotic English plans, and threw himself upon the practical task of defeating his continental enemies. His military genius presently celebrated a new triumph, for at Ulm he took the whole Austrian advance guard captive, and on December 2, 1805, he followed up this advantage by administering a crushing defeat to the combined Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz in Moravia. With his capital, Vienna, lost, and his states occupied, the Austrian emperor was reduced to bow down before the invincible Corsican and sign the Peace of Pressburg (December 26, 1805), in which he gave up Venice to be incorporated with the kingdom of Italy, and the Tyrol to be incorporated with Bavaria.

Austerlitz, December 2, 1805.

Napoleon's German policy.

These provisions introduce us to a very characteristic feature of Napoleon's policy of conquest. He did not plan, at least for the present, to incorporate the conquered provinces of Europe with France, but rather, from France as a centre, to rule over a host of subject-kings. Especially in regard to Germany, his policy was to create a check for the great powers, Austria and Prussia, by fattening the smaller states at their expense. Therefore, Wurtemberg as well as Bavaria had received new territory and been raised to the rank of a kingdom. He now went a step farther and proposed to gather all the smaller German states into a new

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The Confederation of the Rhine, 1806.

union under his presidency. As they had neither the power nor the moral stamina to resist, the world was presently informed of the organization of a new German confederacy, composed of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and in its final form of all the states of Germany except Austria and Prussia. Of this union, called the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon became sovereign under the name of Protector. A glance at the map will show how this triumph drove a wedge into central Europe.

End of the Holy Roman Empire.

Naturally, the creation of a rival German organization coupled with the defection of its component elements from the Holy Roman Empire gave that venerable institution its death-blow. It had been an unconscionable time a-dying, and now Napoleon, the product of a revolution which made sport of tradition, bade it begone. Emperor Francis spoke a last service over its remains when he resigned his now empty title, and adopted in its place the designation emperor of Austria (1806). Certainly no German, however much he might regret the manner of its taking off, had any cause to shed a tear at the passing away of this decrepit government. The stroke which freed Germany from the incubus of centuries cleared the way for a happier future.

Napoleon turns upon Prussia.

But that future was as yet hidden behind the clouds of the gathering storm which threatened to destroy every vestige of German independence. For with Austria humbled and the small states reduced to subservience in the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon now turned his attention to Prussia. Ever since 1795 (Treaty of Basel) Prussia had maintained a friendly neutrality, and all the persuasion and threats of the rest of Europe had not induced her to renew the war against her western neighbor. Even after Napoleon became emperor, the government of Berlin pursued an amicable course, weakly hoping for all kinds of advantages

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from a close association with France. But as soon as Napoleon had disposed of Austria, he showed his true hand and inaugurated toward Prussia a policy of provocations, which the obsequious government of the peevish king, Frederick William III. (1797–1840), refused for a long time to resent. By the autumn of 1806, however, Napoleon's acts had grown so flagrant that Prussia, to save the poor remnant of her self-respect, had to declare war.

Napoleon as a strategist.

Again Napoleon had an opportunity to show that the old military art of Europe could not maintain itself against his methods. As we examine these now, they surprise us by their mathematical simplicity. To get ready earlier than the enemy, to march more rapidly than he, and, finally, to strike him at the weakest spot with concentrated energy—these were the principles of Napoleon's military science, combined with personal qualities of hot daring and cool foresight which have perhaps never been equalled.

The Prussian campaign of 1806.

The campaign of 1806 brought Napoleon's genius into view more clearly than any that had preceded it. But if the emperor won, his soldiers shared the honors with him. For the Prussian troops, drilled like machines but moved by no enthusiasm, were as little the equals of the great national French armies, animated by the ideas of country and glory, as the Prussian commander, the ancient duke of Brunswick, who had been trained in the antiquated school of Frederick the Great, was a match for the fiery young emperor. On October 14, 1806, old and new Europe clashed once more, and at the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, fought on that day, the military monarchy of the great Frederick was overwhelmed. With a bare handful of troops Frederick William fled toward his province of East Prussia, in order to put himself under the protection of Russia, and before the month of October had passed, Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph.

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The campaign against Russia, 1807.

All central Europe now lay in Napoleon's hand. Another man would have preferred to rest before continuing his march of triumph, but Napoleon felt unsatisfied as long as there was any one who dared brave his legions. In order to overthrow the presumptuous ally of Prussia, the Czar Alexander, Napoleon now set out from Berlin, and in June, 1807, won a great victory over the Russians at Friedland. Then he magnanimously offered peace to Alexander, and to the surprise of the world the enemy of yesterday became the bosom friend of to-day.

The Treaty of Tilsit.

The Czar Alexander was a young man with a vivid imagination, and when he now met the great Corsican, under romantic circumstances, on a raft moored in the river Niemen, he fell completely under the spell of his personality. The consequence of the repeated deliberations of the two emperors, of which the disgraced king of Prussia was for the most part a silent witness, was the Peace of Tilsit (July, 1807). By this peace Russia was treated with kindness, but Prussia was thoroughly humiliated, and condemned to the sacrifice of half her territory. The Prussian provinces between the Elbe and Rhine were made the nucleus of a new kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's youngest brother Jerome, and the Prussian spoils of the later Polish Partitions were constituted as the grand-duchy of Warsaw, and given to the elector of Saxony. Prussia became a secondary state, with nothing more to boast of than that she still lived.

The humiliation of Prussia.

Alliance of Napoleon and Alexander.

The treaty of peace was accompanied by an arrangement between Napoleon and Alexander by the terms of which they became close allies. This dramatic turn was the result of the fascination which the western conqueror exercised upon the pliable and romantic Czar, who now formally promised to join Napoleon in his war against England, in case that power would not straightway make peace. In return the French sovereign held out the prospect of aiding Russia in

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her projects upon Turkey, and diverted his new friend with an imaginative picture of a Europe divided, as in Roman times, between an emperor of the west and another of the east.

Napoleon at the height of his power.

The Peace of Tilsit carried Napoleon to the zenith of his career, for with Russia as his ally, the rest of the Continent was subject to his will and obliged to wear his yoke. Let us for a moment with the map in hand review his position. He held France and the kingdom of Italy, ruling them directly and absolutely, and this firm nucleus he had surrounded with a host of dependencies, where subject-sovereigns enjoyed vacant and nominal honors. In Germany he had created the Confederation of the Rhine; he controlled the Swiss Republic under the title of Mediator; and he had put his brothers and relatives as instruments of his will in various territories, Louis becoming king of Holland, Joseph king of Naples, his favorite, Jerome, king of Westphalia, and his brother-in-law, the brilliant cavalry leader Murat, grand-duke of Berg. These last two states, Westphalia and Berg, were artificial creations out of the German spoils, and were incorporated with the Confederation of the Rhine. By a succession of unparalleled strokes, delivered between 1805 and 1807, he had humbled Austria, Prussia, and Russia, had silenced all opposition on the Continent, and could now return to the starting-point of his imperial wars, the struggle with England.

The war with England.

This struggle is one of the most fascinating and momentous chapters in Napoleon's career. Adjourned at the Peace of Amiens (1802), it had broken out again the next year, and led to the armament of Boulogne and the plan to invade the island. The project was hair-brained while England with a superior fleet controlled the Channel, and its chances were entirely blasted when in October, 1805, Nelson, the British naval hero, destroyed the allied French and Spanish fleets

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off Trafalgar. Since then fighting on the seas had practically ceased; Napoleon might march with his invincible hosts from capital to capital, but his control stopped with the shore. Undismayed, he resolved now to strike at England indirectly by ruining her commerce and sapping her wealth. This commercial war has received the name of the Continental System, and the opening gun was fired in the Decrees issued from Berlin in November, 1806, by which Napoleon ordered the seizure of all British goods in his own or allied territory, and excluded from the ports of France and her allies all ships hailing from Great Britain. The necessary supplies of colonial produce, such as sugar and coffee, Napoleon hoped to have furnished by neutral vessels; but the British Government shattered this illusion by answering his challenge with the so-called Orders in Council, forbidding neutral ships, under penalty of seizure, to trade between ports from which Britain was excluded. This blow called for another. Napoleon now determined on nothing less than to seal the Continent hermetically to English trade by obliging every state, great and small, to accept the Continental System. Prussia and Austria had already yielded, and one of the articles of the alliance of Tilsit provided not only that Russia should follow in their footsteps, but also that Alexander should join Napoleon in forcing the exclusion of British goods upon the few small states which had thus far resisted, namely, Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal.

The Continental System.

The Continental System prepares Napoleon's overthrow.

The adoption of the Continental System became the turning-point of Napoleon's career and the beginning of his downfall, for not only did it involve him in new conquests, but by spreading misery far and wide, through the ruin of commerce and industry, created a discontent which lost him his popularity, and finally rose in ever-renewed waves of hatred to a sea of universal revolt. It is well to remember in this connection that Napoleon's astonishing successes

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were won over old-fashioned, absolute monarchies, only remotely in touch with their own peoples. In Italy and Germany the masses to a considerable extent sympathized with Napoleon, for he represented the doctrines of the French Revolution, and his armies brought in their train the overthrow of such feudal iniquities as serfdom and the reign of privilege. But this precious support the emperor sacrificed when he paralyzed the economic life of Europe and carried exasperation into every city and village. Greeted at first as a liberator, he was gradually cursed as a scourge, and reaped the harvest of his policy in a series of national revolts which swept himself, his throne, and his family off the face of Europe. It is of course questionable whether Napoleon's cosmopolitan empire, composed of many proud and spirited nationalities, could have been fashioned even by his genius into a durable form; in any case it is certain that by the Continental System he took measures to secure his own failure.

Invasion of Portugal, 1807.

Acting upon the arrangements of Tilsit, Napoleon first turned upon little Portugal with the command that she seize all British goods and close her ports to British commerce. On her refusal he occupied her territory with an army, and drove her royal family across the seas to Brazil.

The weak policy of Spain during the Revolution.

Here was brutality and violence, but it dwindled to innocence compared with what happened immediately after in Spain, for there the emperor struck a friend and ally. The history of Spain during the French Revolution is a miserable tale, largely because of the despicable character of the king, Charles IV., and the corruption of the court. Having made war upon the Revolution in its first stage, the king had as early as 1795 signed a peace, which had shortly after ripened into an alliance. For the sake of his good friend Napoleon, Charles IV. had joined his fleet to that of France, and also for the sake of that friend he had sacri-

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The intrigue of Bayonne, 1808.

ficed it at Trafalgar. As a return for these good offices, Napoleon now deliberately planned to seize his kingdom. Taking advantage of a quarrel between Charles and his son Ferdinand—two clowns as disgusting as any that have ever masqueraded in a royal mantle—he invited the pair to Bayonne, just across the border, in order to lay their quarrel before him. There the trap closed on them and the two simpletons were forced to resign their royal rights to the wily arbiter (May, 1808). Spain was thereupon given to Joseph Bonaparte, who before assuming his new dignity was obliged to surrender the kingdom of Naples, held for the last two years, to Caroline Bonaparte's husband, Murat, henceforth King Murat.

The insurrection of Spain.

The shameless violence and duplicity by which Napoleon seized the crown of Spain sent a thrill of horror through the Spanish people. By disposing of them as if they were a nation at auction he had wounded their pride, and instead of a peaceful occupation he found himself confronted with an insurrection. It was a new phenomenon upon the emperor's path, and he failed to read the meaning of it. Convinced, soldier like, that there was no obstacle which would not yield to force, he rapidly diagnosed the Spanish situation as requiring a little treatment by cold steel. If the Spaniards had met the regular army which he now launched against them in the field, it is plain that their ineffective forces would have gone down before the French eagles like the rest of Europe. But wisely they assembled only in small guerrilla bands, swept from ambuscades upon detachments and rear-guards, and were gone again before they could be punished. The summer of 1808 brought Napoleon his first serious military disasters, and to make things worse England immediately took a lively interest in Spanish affairs. Having waited in vain for Napoleon to seek her on the sea, she found and seized this opportunity to seek him on the land. In

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the summer of 1808 an English army disembarked in Portugal for the purpose of supporting the revolt of the peninsula. When Napoleon, angered by the check received by his political system, appeared in person on the scene (autumn, 1808), he had no difficulty in sweeping the Spaniards into the hills and the English to their ships, but he was hardly gone when the scattered guerrillas ventured forth from their retreats and the English forced a new landing.

Napoleon cannot put the Spaniards down.

Napoleon had now to learn that a people resolved to live free cannot be conquered. The Spanish war swallowed immense sums and immense forces, but the emperor, as stubborn in his way as the Spaniards, would give ear to no suggestion of concession. Slowly, however, circumstances told against him. The revolts showed no signs of abating, and when, in 1809, a capable general, Sir Arthur Wellesley, better known by his later title of duke of Wellington, took command of the English forces, and foot by foot forced his way toward Madrid, Napoleon's Spanish enterprise became hopeless. Of course that was not immediately apparent; but what did become all too soon apparent was that the enslaved states of central Europe were taking the cue from the Spaniards, and were preparing for a similar struggle with their oppressor.

Austria tries to organize a German insurrection.

In the year 1809 Austria, encouraged by the Spanish successes, was inspired to arouse the Germans to a national revolt. But the effort was premature, for as Prussia was still occupied by French troops, and the whole territory of the Confederation of the Rhine was pledged to Napoleon's interests, only detached bodies in the Tyrol, in Jerome's kingdom of Westphalia and elsewhere, responded to Austria's call. At Wagram (July, 1809) Napoleon laid Austria a fourth time at his feet. In the Peace of Vienna, which followed, she was forced to cede Salzburg to Bavaria, give up most of her Polish provinces to the duchy of Warsaw and

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to the Czar of Russia, and her southern districts, which Napoleon reorganized as the Illyrian provinces, to France. It was but a trunk shorn of its boughs which the conqueror left, and it is not improbable that he would have felled the trunk, too, if he had not been forced at this time to provide for a complete change of his political system.

Humiliation of Austria, 1809.

Napoleon changes his political system, Russia being replaced by Austria.

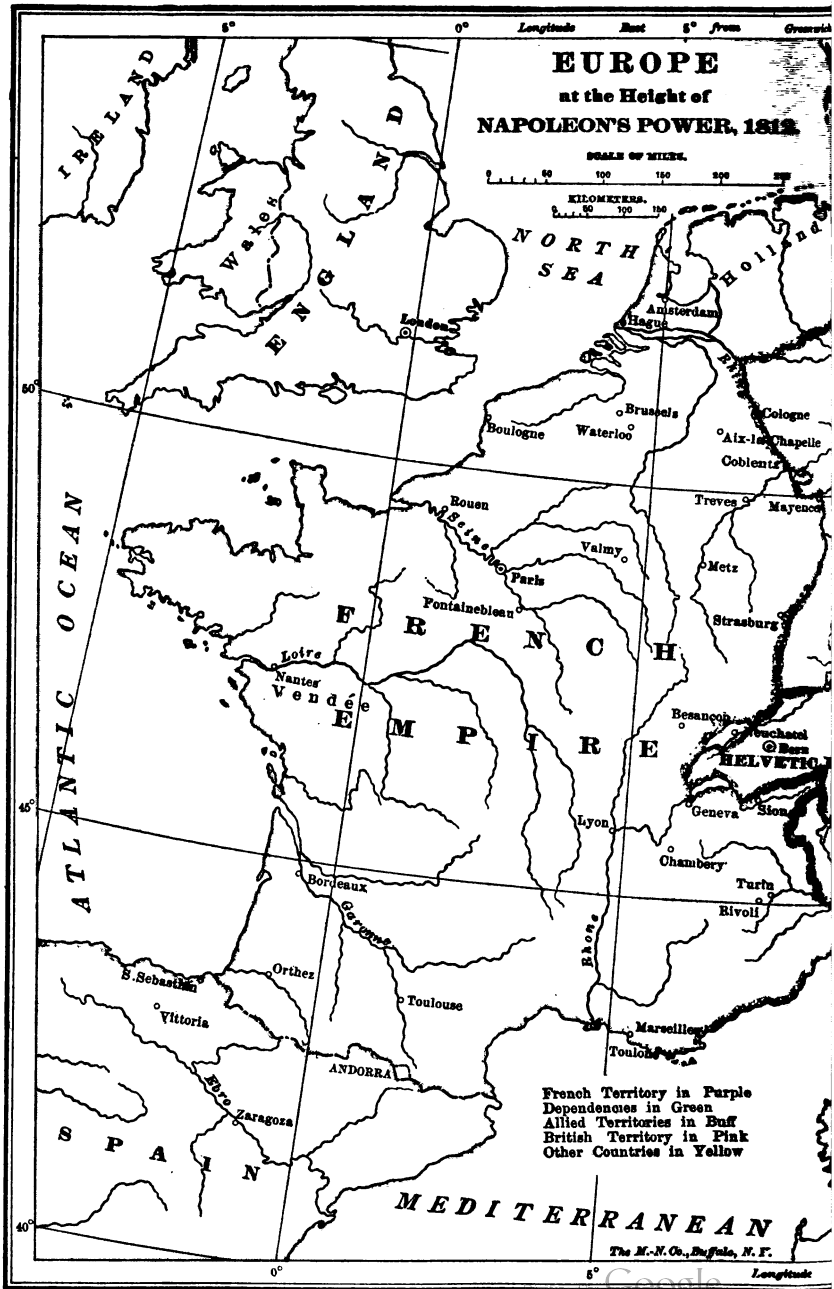
The fact was the Czar Alexander was tiring of the alliance of Tilsit, which handed over the whole Continent to Napoleon, while Russia received no commensurate advantage, besides being subjected to an intolerable burden by reason of the Continental System. Napoleon noticed the diminishing heartiness of the Czar, and resolved to secure himself against defection by seeking the friendship of Austria. That state was, after the war of 1809, in no position to refuse the proffered hand, and when Napoleon further demanded the emperor's daughter, Marie Louise, in marriage, that request, too, had to be granted. That he was already married to Josephine Beauharnais was a slight annoyance, disposed of by divorce on the ground that the union was childless. In April, 1810, the military upstart, for that is what Napoleon was from the point of view of the drawing-room and the court, celebrated his union with a daughter of the ancient imperial line of Hapsburg, and when, in the succeeding year, there was born to him a son and heir, to whom he gave in his cradle the sounding title of king of Rome, he could fancy that the Napoleonic empire was finally settled upon secure foundations.

Review of Napoleon's position in 1811.

And surely never did Napoleon's power exhibit a greater outward splendor, never did his behests meet with more implicit obedience, than in the year 1811. The spoiled son of fortune had now acquired the imperious habit of falling into a rage at the slightest sign of opposition. He imposed the Continental System with increasing rigor, and punished the Pope and his own brother Louis with the loss of their

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EUROPE
at the Height of
NAPOLEON'S POWER, 1812.
SCALE OF MILES.
KILOMETERS.
Longitude East 5° from Greenwich
IRELAND
ENGLAND
Wales
NORTH SEA
Holland
London
Amsterdam
Hague
Brussels
Cologne
Boulogne
Waterloo
Aix-la-Chapelle
Coblentz
Treves
Mayence
Rouen
Valmy
Metz
Paris
Fontainebleau
Strasburg
FRENCH
EMPIRE
Loire
Nantes
Vendée
Besançon
Neuchatel
Bern
HELVETIC
Lyon
Geneva
Sion
Chambery
Turin
Rivoli
Bordeaux
Garonne
Rhone
S. Sebastian
Orthez
Toulouse
Vittoria
Marseilles
Toulon
ANDORRA
Ebro
Zaragoza
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
French Territory in Purple
Dependencies in Green
Allied Territories in Buff
British Territory in Pink
Other Countries in Yellow
The M.-N. Co., Buffalo, N. Y.
Longitude



NOTE TO THE STUDENT:

The Rhine boundary, the ancient goal of French ambition, was reasonably assured before Napoleon came to power. Observe how his personal ambition leads to 1) untenable conquests and 2) insecure dependencies. *Conquests:* Holland, German Coast (Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck), Western Italy (Piedmont, Tuscany, Papal States), Illyrian Provinces. *Dependencies:* Confederation of the Rhine, Duchy of Warsaw, Helvetic Republic, Kingdom of Italy (Eugene Beauharnais), Naples (Joseph Bonaparte, Murat), Spain (Joseph). *Allied States:* Denmark and Norway, Prussia, and Austrian Empire.

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territories when they seemed to him to slacken their vigilance toward British goods. One cloud which would not disperse was the Spanish rising, but that war, with a little power of illusion, could be comfortably minimized to an outbreak of bandits and guerrillas. As Napoleon looked about enslaved Europe, he might reasonably imagine that now was the most auspicious time to put an end to the last independent state of the Continent, the eastern colossus, Russia. He had made a friend of that nation for the purpose of securing an unhampered activity in the west, but having long since obtained from the alliance of Tilsit all that he could hope, it had become a burden to him as well as to Alexander.

Invasion of Russia, 1812.

The breach between Napoleon and Alexander became definite in the course of the year 1811. Both powers began preparing for war, and in the spring of 1812 Napoleon set in movement toward Russia the greatest armament that Europe had ever seen. A half million men, representing all the nationalities of Napoleon's cosmopolitan empire, seemed more than adequate to the task of bringing the Czar under the law of the emperor. And the expedition was at first attended by a series of splendid successes. In September Napoleon even occupied Moscow, the ancient capital of Russia, and there calmly waited to receive Alexander's submission.

Napoleon at Moscow.

But he had underrated the spirit of resistance which animated the empire of the Czar. Here, as in Spain, a determination to die rather than yield possessed every inhabitant, and Napoleon received the assurance of the national aversion in the deserted villages through which he marched. At Moscow he met with a crushing calamity in the destruction of that city by fire. Whether the fire was laid by the retreating natives or caused by bands of marauding French has never been accurately settled.

The retreat.

Napoleon lingered among the ruins of Moscow for some

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weeks in the vain hope that the Czar, unnerved by the invasion of his country, would make peace. But for once Alexander was firm, and the delay overwhelmed the French with disaster. For since the retreat, unavoidable in a country eaten bare of supplies, was not begun till October 19th, the poor troops were overtaken by winter and buried under its icy blasts. To the misery of cold were added hunger and the constant raids of the swift-moving Cossacks until the formidable Grand Army of the spring had melted into a few scattered bands of struggling fugitives. Napoleon directed the rout through the first stages, but early in December he set out for Paris, realizing that he had sacrificed his veterans in an impossible enterprise. In his absence Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," fighting like a common soldier, did what valor could to save the honor of France and the wreck of her military power. Late in December a few thousand starved, broken, and half-crazed men, whose brothers strewed the frozen plains of Russia, found refuge across the Niemen.

The revolt of Germany.

The loss of his splendid army was, in any case, a serious calamity for Napoleon. But it would become an irremediable catastrophe if it encouraged Germany, long throbbing with suppressed rage, to rise in revolt and create new complications at a juncture when he required all his strength to repair the supreme disaster of his life. Unluckily for Napoleon, the German patriots felt this fact instinctively, and thrilled with the consciousness that never again would such an opportunity be offered them. They wanted a general and national rising; but they saw that its success would be best assured if its guidance were undertaken by Prussia. And Prussia, which Napoleon had trampled into the dust at Jena and shut into a tomb at Tilsit, did not deceive their expectations, and raised the standard of revolt.

Prussia since her overwhelming disasters had gone through

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a renovation which is one of the remarkable revivals of history. Her king and leading men had come to see that her overthrow was the inevitable consequence of her backwardness, and resolved that new foundations would have to be laid in a series of sweeping reforms. Luckily, the state found the men to undertake the work. Stein, as chief minister, and Scharnhorst, as head of the war department, carried through a number of measures, such as the abolition of serfdom, the creation of local self-government, and the reorganization of the army on a national and patriotic basis, which gave Prussia many of the advantages of the French Revolution. And with the new institutions was born a new spirit, unknown hitherto in this feudal and military state, which bound high and low together in a common passionate love of country. When this revived nation heard of Napoleon's ruin on the Russian snow-fields, all classes were seized with the conviction that the great hour of revenge had come; no debate, no delay on the part of the timid king was suffered, and resistlessly swept along by the rising tide of enthusiasm, he was forced to sign an alliance with Russia and declare war (March, 1813).

The renaissance of Prussia.

The disastrous campaign of 1812 would have exhausted any other man than Napoleon. But he faced the new situation as undaunted as ever. By herculean efforts he succeeded in mustering and training a new army, and in the spring of 1813 appeared suddenly in the heart of Germany, ready to punish the new coalition. Life and death depended on his defeating Russia and Prussia before the Confederation of the Rhine, already simmering with revolt, and Austria, only waiting for a chance to recover her own, had declared against him. At Lützen (May 2d) and at Bautzen (May 20th) he maintained his ancient reputation. But clearly the day of the Jenas and Friedlands was over, for not only did he capture no cannon or men, but the allies fell

The campaign of 1813: first part.

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The armistice of June 4th.

back in good order on Silesia, while Napoleon had to confess that his victories had been paid for by such heavy losses that to win, at this rate, was equivalent to ruin. On June 4th he agreed to an armistice in order to reorganize his troops.

The attitude of Austria.

Both parties now became aware that the issue of the campaign depended upon Austria, for so delicately adjusted were the scales between the contestants, that the side upon which she would throw her influence would have to win. In these circumstances Metternich, Austria's unscrupulous and juggling minister, undertook, at first, the rôle of mediator; but when Napoleon indignantly rejected the conditions for a general peace which Metternich proposed, Austria threw in her lot with the European coalition. In August, 1813, at the expiration of the truce, there followed a concerted forward movement on the part of the allies. Prussians, Russians, and Austrians crowded in upon Napoleon, who sat ensconced in the heart of Germany, in Saxony. Having the smaller force, his outposts were gradually driven in, himself outmanœuvred, and his concentrated host crushed utterly in a savage three days' battle at Leipsic (October 16th–18th). With such remnants as he could hold together he hurried across the Rhine. Germany was lost beyond recovery. The question now was: Would he be able to retain France?

The campaign of 1813: second part.

The winter campaign of 1814.

If the great conqueror could have befriended himself with the idea of ruling over France alone, he might have ended the war by the acceptance of the Rhine boundary, which the allies now offered. But he refused to acknowledge that he was beaten, and by rejecting the proffered peace obliged his enemies to continue the war. In the winter they invaded France, resolved to annihilate him before he had recovered his strength. His defensive campaign, conducted in the cold of winter with slender forces, is regarded by military men as among his most brilliant achievements; but he was

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now hopelessly outnumbered, and when, on March 31st, the allies forced the gates of Paris, even Napoleon's confidence received a shock. As he looked about him he saw the whole east of France in the hands of his enemies, while the south was as rapidly falling into the power of Wellington, who in the two splendid campaigns of 1812 and 1813 had pushed the French out of Spain and was now pursuing them across the Pyrenees. On April 6, 1814, at his castle of Fontainebleau, Napoleon acknowledged that all was over, and offered his abdication. The allies conceded him the island of Elba (off the coast of Tuscany) as a residence, and then gave their attention to the problem of the future of France. Not from any enthusiasm for the House of Bourbon, but merely because there was no other way out of the difficulties, they finally gave their sanction to the accession to the throne of Louis XVIII., brother of the last king. As regards the extent of the restored kingdom, it was agreed in the Peace of Paris that France was to receive the boundaries of 1792.

Napoleon abdicates, April 6, 1814.

The allies restore the Bourbons.

This important preliminary matter arranged, a general congress of the powers assembled at Vienna to discuss the reconstruction of Europe. The modern age has not seen a more brilliant gathering of notabilities. All the sovereigns and statesmen who had stood in the centre of public attention during the last momentous years were, with few exceptions, present, and a single drawing-room sometimes held Czar Alexander, the great Wellington, the German patriot Stein, the courtly but treacherous Talleyrand, and that master of all diplomatic wiles, the Austrian chancellor Metternich. But before the Congress of Vienna had ended its labors, the anti-Napoleonic coalition, which the congress represented, was once more called upon to take the field. For in March, 1815, the news reached the allied sovereigns that Napoleon had made his escape from Elba, and had once more landed in France.

The Congress of Vienna.

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Napoleon returns from Elba.

The resolution formed by Napoleon, after only a few months of exile, to try conclusions once more with united Europe, was the resolution of despair. It was folly on the part of the allies to expect that a man like him, with a burning need of activity, would ever content himself with the little island-realm of Elba, especially as France, his willing prize, lay just across the water. It was equal folly on the part of Napoleon to fancy that he could thwart the will of united Europe; but being the man he was, there was a moral certainty that, sooner or later, he would make the attempt. On March 1st he landed unexpectedly near Cannes, accompanied by a guard of eight hundred of his old veterans, who had been permitted to attend him in exile; and no sooner had he displayed his banners than his former soldiers streamed to the standards to which they were attached with heart and soul by innumerable glorious memories. Marshal Ney, who was sent out by the restored Bourbon king to take Napoleon captive, broke into tears at sight of his old leader, and folded him in his arms. There was no resisting the magnetic power of the name Napoleon. The familiar "*Vive l'empereur!*" rang through France till the lukewarm partisans of the Bourbon dynasty fell away from it with feverish alacrity. Discouraged by the diminishing ranks of his supporters, Louis presently fled across the border, while the hero of the soldiers and peasants entered Paris amid wild acclamations.

The Hundred Days.

The Hundred Days, as Napoleon's restoration is called, form a mere after-play to the great drama which lies between the Russian campaign and the abdication of Fontainebleau, and which ended with the collapse of his empire of conquest. To revive that corpse against the will of united Europe was hopelessly out of the question. Hardly had the sovereigns at Vienna heard of Napoleon's return, when they launched their excommunication against him, and converged their

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columns from all sides upon his capital. The issue was decided in Belgium. There Wellington had gathered a composite Anglo-Dutch-German army, and thither marched to his assistance Marshal Blücher with his Prussians. These enemies, gathered against his northern frontier, Napoleon resolved to meet first. With his usual swiftness he fell upon Blücher on June 16th at Ligny, before this general could unite with Wellington, and beat him roundly. Leaving Marshal Grouchy with 30,000 men to pursue the Prussians, he next turned, on June 18th, against Wellington.

Opening of the Belgian campaign.

Wellington, who had taken a strong defensive position near Waterloo, resolutely awaited the French attack. All the afternoon Napoleon hurled his infantry and cavalry against the "iron duke's" positions without dislodging his tough opponent, and when toward evening the Prussians unexpectedly made their appearance on his right he was caught between two fires, and totally ruined. Precipitately he fled to Paris and there abdicated a second time. Deserted by all in his misfortunes, he now planned to escape to America, but finding the coast guarded by English cruisers, was obliged to take passage on the ship Bellerophon to be carried first to England, and thence, in accordance with the verdict of his victorious enemies, to the rocky, mid-Atlantic island of St. Helena. There, six years later (1821), he died, a lonely and embittered exile.

Waterloo, June 18, 1815.

Napoleon is exiled to St. Helena.

At Paris, meanwhile, the allies once more restored Louis XVIII. to his ancestral throne, and by the Second Treaty of Paris, not quite so generous as that of the preceding year, handed over to him a France shorn of all its revolutionary acquisitions.

Second restoration of Louis XVIII.

The great drama called the French Revolution was over. Beginning with a protest against the corruption and iniquity of government and society, it had celebrated its first success when it overthrew the court and the privileged

Looking backward.

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orders. Unhappily, the leaders forgot that patient and solid reconstruction should always go hand in hand with wreckage, and had permitted the movement to degenerate into anarchy. The uncertain domestic situation unfortunately became complicated with a war against monarchical Europe, which led to the creation of vast and victorious hosts, and ended by giving birth to a popular military hero. Thus the democratic forces created by the Revolution served to build a throne for Napoleon Bonaparte. Another might have been content with founding a new dynasty in France, but Napoleon lifted his eyes to something greater, and dreamed of the Empire of Charlemagne. That project was at the bottom of all his later wars, wars of pure conquest, which he conducted with unique success—except against England, secure in her moated island—until his yoke caused his victims to lay aside every other question in order to crush him with their united strength.

Distinction between Napoleon and the Revolution.

Clearly, in the light of this exposition, it is necessary to distinguish between the work of the Revolution and the ambition of Napoleon. The storm, which swept away the emperor, not only obliterated every vestige of his imperial creation, but threatened also to scatter all the mental and moral conquests of the preceding period. In the end these were spared, and happily spared, for if the world had a right to repel Napoleonic tyranny, it would have made a grievous mistake to reject with the tyrant all the blessings which the French Revolution had poured out in its first inspiring years. Naturally, owing to the animosities created by the long struggle, everything hailing from France was for the present under the ban. But much of the good that had been done could not again be undone. Certain principles and ideas which had been given a wide currency were too precious to be given up. They have become the foundations of nineteenth-century society. Among them let us

The enduring principles of the Revolution.

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select the following for brief consideration. (1) *Social equality.*—Feudalism, with its system of privileges for some and burdens for others, was replaced by the principle that all men are equal before the law and have the same duties and opportunities. (2) *Religious toleration.*—Instead of persecution, on the ground of religion, the state shall henceforth give protection to all peaceful religious associations. (3) *Sovereignty of the people.*—The state is not the personal property of the monarch, but belongs to the nation, which has the right to direct its own destiny. (4) *Nationality.*—The people of the same blood and speech are justified in coming together and forming a national state.

Such were the principles wrought out for humanity by that vast conflagration, the French Revolution. Although they were rejected by official Europe in the period of reaction which followed the fall of Napoleon, they found shelter in the minds of a few fearless men, and, communicated gradually to others, became the leading forces in the development of the nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE PERIOD OF REACTION

REFERENCES: FYFFE, Modern Europe (popular edition), Chapters XIII.–XV.; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe (1815–1900), Chapters I., II., pp. 14–22; III.–VII.; SEIGNOBOS, Political History of Europe Since 1814, Chapter X., pp. 286–305; Chapter XI., pp. 326–33; Chapter XXI., pp. 648–57; Chapter XXV.; ANDREWS, Modern Europe, Vol. I., Chapters III., V.; PHILLIPS, The War of Greek Independence (1821–33); THAYER, Dawn of Italian Independence (1814–49), Vol. I., Books 1–2; BOLTON KING, History of Italian Unity (1814–71), Vol. I., Part I.

SOURCE READINGS: TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS, University of Pennsylvania, Vol. I., No. 3 (text of Holy Alliance, German *Bund*, etc.); ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapter XXXIX. (Talleyrand, Metternich, etc.); OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS, No. 56 (the Monroe Doctrine).

The Congress of Vienna.

THE Congress of Vienna, which met to arrange the affairs of Europe after the unparalleled storms of the past generation, embodied the agreements reached among the powers in a so-called Final Act. Taken in connection with the Peace of Paris, this document traces the political geography of reconstructed Europe. It also conveys an idea of the principles of the victors. These principles have been vehemently condemned, but were, after all, the natural outgrowth of the conservative triumph. It was felt that the general unrest produced by Napoleon's having erased

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boundaries, toppled over old dynasties, and called new ones into being, should be replaced by certainty and permanence, and the surest method to achieve this end seemed to be to reëstablish as far as possible all the states, great and small, in existence before the late disturbances. These states were said to be "legitimate," as against the illegitimate creations of Napoleon. The desirability of sifting the sheep from the goats, on the score of this distinction of "legitimacy," was first championed by the supple Frenchman Talleyrand, and gradually imposed itself as a piece of divine wisdom upon the congress. But while "legitimacy" made for the restoration of the old dynasties, the great powers did not forget to compensate themselves territorially for their past losses and labors. Their hunger for land modified the plan of a restoration pure and simple, and that plan was further affected by the desire to check all possible future aggressions on the part of the disturbing element, France. Legitimacy, territorial compensation, and hostility to France are the main forces out of the interaction of which grew the new map of Europe.

Its principles: legitimacy, territorial compensation, and hostility to France.

The greatest interest at the congress gathered around central Europe, as the region which had been subjected to the most sweeping changes by the Revolution. In Italy the old governments were restored with the exception of the republic of Genoa, which was given to Sardinia to strengthen it against France, and the republic of Venice, which was given to Austria to compensate it for Belgium. This accommodation caused little trouble compared with the negotiations over Germany. As no one wanted to have the Holy Roman Empire back again, it was agreed, in spite of the clamor of the German patriots, who favored a strong united state, that the German princes should be considered sovereign and bound together in a loose federation. Serious trouble came when Prussia asked, as her compensation, the

Changes in Italy and Germany.

The trouble over Saxony.

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whole of Saxony. The right of Prussia to indemnity was admitted in principle, because she had lost her Polish provinces, and Saxony was considered in some quarters as reasonable payment, on the ground that her king, having clung to Napoleon to the last, had forfeited whatever claim he might have had under the theory of legitimacy. In fact, Prussia and Russia had come to a private agreement, by which Russia, in return for the Prussian Polish spoils, agreed to support Prussia in her effort to gain Saxony. But Austria, England, and France firmly declared themselves against this arrangement, and the conflict was not adjusted by a compromise until both sides had begun to make preparations for war. By the final agreement, Prussia got half of Saxony, the remainder being returned to the "legitimate" sovereign. For the part she gave up she received in exchange a solid block of territory on the lower Rhine, while Alexander acquired the grand-duchy of Warsaw—with the exception of the province of Posen, given to Prussia—and converted his acquisition into the kingdom of Poland, with himself as king.

Belgium and Holland united.

Between France and Germany lay Belgium and Holland, both incorporated with France during the period of French ascendancy. In order to establish a strong bulwark against France the congress consolidated these states and placed them under the rule of the "legitimate" House of Orange. The new creation received the name of the kingdom of the Netherlands.

Compensations of England.

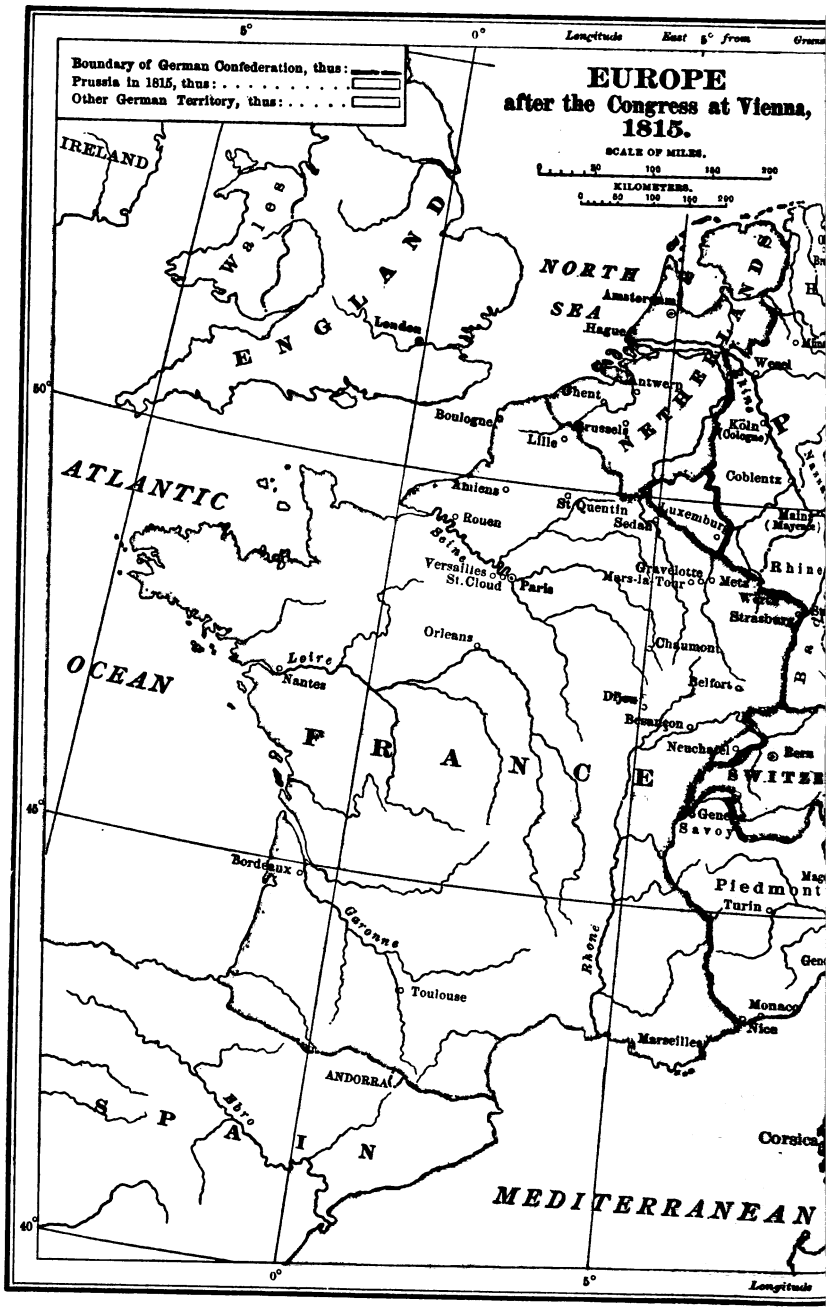
England, the oldest and the most successful of the enemies of Napoleon, was paid in colonial territory, receiving South Africa (the Cape), Ceylon, Malta, and Heligoland.

The rearrangements of Vienna disappoint national hopes.

The most serious danger to the permanence of these arrangements arose from the fact that they disappointed the national hopes of the Italian, the Polish, the German, and the Belgian peoples. Let us examine the agreements from

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NOTE TO THE STUDENT:

The interesting creations of the Congress of Vienna are the following: 1) Italy. Observe that Lombardy and Venice are Austrian outposts. The rest of Italy is parceled out among many rulers. 2) The German Confederation does not include all of Prussia and Austria. Its eastern boundary is identical with that of the former Holy Roman Empire. 3) The kingdom of the Netherlands includes Belgium and Holland.

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this point of view. In Italy the Bourbon Ferdinand was recognized as king of Naples and Sicily, joined under the name of the Two Sicilies; the Pope was restored to the States of the Church; the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine to Tuscany; the king of Sardinia to Piedmont, increased by Genoa; and Austria was put in possession of Lombardy and Venetia. The lesser states, like Modena and Parma, we may leave out of consideration. As no attempt was made to bind these states together, and as the old jealousies hindered united counsels, Austria, a foreign power, by taking advantage of the inner divisions, acquired an easy paramountcy. The Poles, although treated not ungenerously by Alexander, being given a constitution of which we shall presently hear, were nevertheless deceived in their national expectations by the failure of the congress to restore their state in its ancient limits. The Catholic Belgians abhorred their Protestant masters, the Dutch, while in Germany, though no foreign sovereign was imposed, the conclusions of the congress deeply offended the patriotic party. The German situation, being complicated, requires further elucidation.

The German situation.

There can be no doubt that the passing of the Holy Roman Empire was an unmitigated blessing, but Napoleon did more than merely inter this august mummy. With his unrivalled genius for order, he abolished a great number of the small sovereignties, above all, those feudal survivals, the free knights, the free cities, and the prince-bishops, and with their territory fattened the lay princes. As a result of this cleansing process there were now, instead of some three hundred, only thirty-eight sovereign states. These may be divided, for the sake of convenience, into three groups: first, the two great powers, Austria and Prussia; second, the middle states, to wit, the kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, and Hanover, with the grand-duchy

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of Baden; and third, Weimar, Hesse, and all the rest, constituting the small states. Now the national party, headed by the Prussian statesman, Stein, demanded a close federal union, but Metternich, who feared that a united Germany would not serve the interests of Austria, carried the day and persuaded the German delegates to be content with a loose association under the name *Bund* (Union). The Bund was to transact business through a Diet of state delegates assembled at Frankfort-on-the-Main, but as the heads of the states yielded none of their sovereignty to the common Parliament, it will be seen—and such was Metternich's plan—that the Bund, as a means of effective union, was a farce. Germany remained a mere geographical expression, and the disappointment of the patriots was keen.

The reaction.

But there was another sentiment besides that of nationality offended at Vienna. We have glanced at the enthusiasm over legitimacy, a significant sign of the widely prevalent animosity felt against the Revolution and its democratic principles. The fact is that Europe was swept in 1815 by a wave of religious and political reaction that carried the Viennese diplomats off their feet. The evidence is furnished by a document drawn up by Czar Alexander, in which he pledged himself to govern his state in accordance with Biblical principles, and which he induced all his brother-potentates either to sign or give their assent to. This treaty has become famous under the name of the Holy Alliance,[1] not by reason of anything which the document itself contains, for it is a heap of well-meant platitudes, but because the name Holy Alliance became popular as a designation for the leagued reactionaries of Europe. In this sense all Europe constituted the Holy Alliance for a time; but as liberal principles gradually reasserted themselves in the

The Holy Alliance.

[1] See the text in Translations and Reprints (University of Pennsylvania), Vol. I. "It is verbiage," said Metternich on perusing it.

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west, England and France refused to coöperate in the suppression of democratic activity, and Russia, Austria, and Prussia were left to sustain the conservative doctrines as best they could. But if the Holy Alliance itself is only a collection of sounding phrases, the strong conservative sentiment of Europe managed to create at least one practical means of expression. It was agreed that the powers who had reorganized Europe should meet in congress, from time to time, for the purpose of considering the European situation and for "the maintenance of all transactions hitherto established." This was tantamount to a declaration of war against all favorers of change and progress, and Metternich, the clever promoter of the congressional policy, presently resolved to use the parliament of Europe for the purpose of crushing revolutionary activity in any country as soon as it arose. This is the Austrian chancellor's famous policy of intervention, and congresses and intervention, not Alexander's mystico-bombastic Holy Alliance, are the real tools by which the reaction held Europe in a vice. Such was Metternich's authority, that he imposed his machinery of repression for some time with the consent of the powers, but England, as we shall see, presently grew suspicious, and the policy of shutting Europe in the mausoleum of conservatism had to be given up. But summing up what has been said, it will be seen that the conservative framers of reconstructed Europe ranged against themselves the forces of *liberalism* as well as those of *nationalism*, and that from this circumstance the whole history of the nineteenth century takes its imprint. Our subsequent chapters are the tale of the heroic struggles by which liberalism and nationalism acquire an honorable recognition.

Periodical congresses.

Intervention.

Reaction versus liberalism and nationalism.

The first serious test of Metternich's Chinese policy of a Europe cast in an unalterable mould came when the Mediterranean countries were shaken by a series of revolutions.

Revolution in Spain, 1820.

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The beginning was made by Spain. The fall of Napoleon had brought back the deposed Bourbon monarch, Ferdinand VII., who showed his moral fibre by beginning his reign with a perjury. Although he had sworn to maintain the constitution, called the Constitution of 1812, and drawn up during the sovereign's absence by the heroic defenders of the Spanish soil, he not only set it aside as soon as he had his hand once more on the helm, but encouraged a cruel and wholesale persecution of the patriots, on the ground that they bore the taint of liberalism. Spain fell back into the Middle Ages, and the court, with its corruption, and the clergy, with its Inquisition, governed the country in accordance with their selfish interests. But disaffection kept pace with the hateful tyranny, and when in January, 1820, a few soldiers declared themselves in rebellion, the whole country almost in an instant caught fire. In Madrid there was a riot, which was not appeased until the cringing sovereign had made his bow to the masses by restoring the Constitution of 1812.

Revolution in Naples.

This Spanish success created imitators. In Naples the fall of Napoleon had brought back another Bourbon, also named Ferdinand, who bore a remarkable moral resemblance to his relative of Madrid. On receipt of the happy news from Spain, the army raised the banner of revolt, and with the aid of the people forced the king to accept for his realm of Naples the now popular Spanish constitution.

Revolution in Portugal.

Nor did this complete the tale of revolution. The contagion spread to Portugal. In the absence of the royal family, which was still in Brazil, whither it had fled on Napoleon's invasion in 1807, a provisional government was hurried into office which tried to conjure the storm by a profusion of liberal promises.

Against these popular movements in the Latin south the indignant Metternich resolved to set in action his ma-

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chinery of congresses and intervention. But if he hoped for unanimity among the powers for the maintenance of what he called "order," he soon saw his mistake. A meeting at Troppau (1820), called for the discussion of Neapolitan affairs, which from their nearness were the most pressing, revealed that England and France had no desire to share in a crusade against democracy. But the Austrian's counsel still prevailed with Russia and Prussia, and intervention was agreed on in principle, though it was not to begin until Ferdinand himself had been heard in the case. The congress was therefore adjourned to Laibach, near the Italian border, and the mendacious Bourbon had no sooner appeared (1821) and denounced his late liberal acts as wrung from him by force, than Austria accepted the commission of her friends and marched an army into Naples.

The congresses of Troppau and Laibach.

Unfortunately, the Neapolitan liberals had not been able to call a strong government into being. They lacked experience, and worst of all, by falling out with the island of Sicily, which asked for home rule, were obliged to send a part of their army across the straits to maintain their authority. The mere approach of the Austrian forces served to scatter the Neapolitan soldiery and break all opposition to the restoration of Ferdinand as absolute king. When the patriots in the Italian north, and especially in Piedmont, tried to raise an insurrection in the Austrian rear, in aid of the liberal movement in the south, Austria marched an army into Piedmont also. Thus Metternich, by the exercise of a police power, for which he found authority in his own principles and in the mandate of the eastern potentates, practically made himself master of Italy.

Intervention of Austria in Naples, 1821.

This first success only stimulated the appetite of the three eastern courts, and when the court of Paris, which had been

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wavering, now came over to their side, they could take another important step. At a congress held at Verona (1822) they commissioned France to interfere in Spain. A French army under the duke of Angoulême, the king's nephew, crossed the Pyrenees, and entered Madrid practically without opposition. The downfall of Spanish liberalism was as swift and ignominious as that of Naples, and for substantially the same reasons. The leaders were violent and inexperienced, and failed to attach the impoverished and ignorant masses to their programme. Priest- and beggar-ridden Naples and Spain were not good soil for the Tree of Liberty. The result of French intervention was a second restoration, marked, like that of Naples, by a cruel persecution of the liberals. The Spanish sovereign, as revolting a combination of imbecility, ignorance, and duplicity as ever disgraced a throne, now hoped that the European monarchs would extend their services to America. The Spanish colonies, embracing the vast regions of Central and South America, were in revolt, and Ferdinand argued that to put down rebellion across the seas was as holy work as repressing it in Spain.

Intervention of France in Spain, 1823.

Question of the Spanish colonies.

The rebellion of the Spanish colonies had run a curious course, for it had begun not with a movement against the mother country, but with the patriotic refusal to accept the usurper, Joseph Bonaparte. During Napoleon's struggle in Spain the colonies had governed themselves, and acquiring a taste for independence had, on Ferdinand's restoration, declared their unwillingness to return to the old allegiance without some provision for home rule. This the stubborn Ferdinand had rejected, with the result that the colonies, one after another, had renounced the Spanish connection. On Ferdinand's appeal to the powers, the question of supporting him was taken up, when the English minister, Canning, heartily seconded by the United States, put a

Their freedom secured by Canning and President Monroe.

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quietus on the matter. Canning adopted the bold measure of publicly acknowledging the colonies as sovereign states, and President Monroe went a step farther by threatening to regard any interference in American affairs as an act unfriendly to his government. The declaration of the American president, made in 1823, furnishes the basis of what has since been called the Monroe Doctrine. The upshot was that the Spanish colonies made good their independence, and that the leagued champions of reaction, to the joy of the liberal parties the world over, met their first serious check. Shortly after, they became aware that there were regions, even in Europe, which they could not control. For with Naples and Spain won back to absolutism, logic demanded that Portugal be served the same way. But Portugal being on the coast was accessible to England; and when Canning prepared to protect it from interference by sending an army thither, the allies saw fit to abandon their enterprise.

Failure of the Holy Alliance in Portugal.

Reviewing the great events in the Mediterranean countries, we observe that the reaction headed by Metternich won some significant triumphs, but had to relax its principles in at least two instances, owing chiefly to the veto of England. Such strength as the conservative programme mustered resulted from union, and the defection of England under the direction of Canning showed that union, on the absurd basis of political immobility, could not be long maintained. It is frequently said that Canning broke up the Holy Alliance. A more correct statement would be that England under Canning deserted the Holy Alliance, and that, weakened by defection, it was shortly after broken up by another event to which we now turn—the Greek revolution.

The reaction begins to lose ground.

At the very moment when the eastern powers were formulating their policy against popular movements at the congress of Laibach, the news reached them that the nefarious

The revolt of Greece, 1821.

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spirit of revolt had raised its head in the Turkish Empire also, and that the Greeks, subjected for centuries to the Sultan, demanded independence. If the diplomats of the school of Metternich had been accessible to generous impulses, they would have applauded a movement which aimed to cast off the tyrannical yoke of the Mohammedan conqueror; but, blinded by prejudice, they unhesitatingly laid their curse upon the new rising. The case of the Greeks was as follows: With the growing decay of the Turkish Empire the government of the Sultan, conducted by venal and cruel pashas, had grown steadily more despicable, while the Greeks, largely through the stimulating influence of the French Revolution, had experienced a renascence. Their language and literature bloomed anew, they studied with enthusiasm their great past, and they accumulated wealth by almost monopolizing the commerce of the eastern Mediterranean. Angered by the failure of Europe to do anything for them after the fall of Napoleon, they formed a secret society, and in 1821 rose by concerted action. The mass of the nation lived in the restricted territory of ancient Hellas, but offshoots spread in complex ramifications throughout the Slav populations of the Balkan region. Further, the Slavs, having been Christianized in the days of Greek ascendancy, belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church, and their clergy, especially the prelates, were of Hellenic blood and speech. The leaders of 1821 therefore planned to make the revolt a general Christian movement under Greek guidance, and were not a little disconcerted to discover that the Slavs would not follow them. In fact, the religious predominance of the Greeks was so unpopular among the Roumanians and Bulgarians, that they loved their Christian teachers little better than their Mohammedan masters. The rivalry appearing at this point between Greeks and Slavs, and later among the various tribes of Slavs, has greatly retarded the liberation of

Relation of Turks, Greeks, and Slavs.

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the Balkans. In the year 1821 it threatened ruin, until the Greeks, discovering that they could depend on none but themselves, bravely shouldered the whole responsibility. In a sudden rush they succeeded in clearing almost all of the Morea (Peloponnesus) and central Greece of the enemy.

The Sultan fails to subdue the Greeks.

The Sultan, boundlessly enraged at this success, made formidable efforts to recover the lost territory. His armies penetrated (1822) into the revolted districts, but failed to break the undaunted resistance of the little people. Balked of their prey, the Turks committed abominable atrocities, to be followed presently on the part of the Greeks by acts of similar fury. The tale of mutual butchery surpasses belief, and becomes intelligible only when we remember that the animosity, usual between slave and master, was here blown into an unquenchable flame by religious fanaticism.

The Sultan calls upon the pasha of Egypt for help.

In the year 1824 the Sultan, feeling the exhaustion of his resources, invited the coöperation of his powerful vassal, Mehemed Ali, pasha of Egypt, and the arrival on the scene of this capable and unscrupulous ruler soon gave another complexion to affairs. Using the island of Crete as a base, he penetrated into the Morea from the south, and by 1826 had made such great strides that to the casual view the Greek cause seemed doomed. But at this point Europe, hitherto shamefully indifferent, interposed, and Greece was saved.

England, Russia, and France agree to interfere in behalf of Greece, 1827.

As long as Metternich's influence prevailed, it was clear that Europe would quietly look on while the Sultan waded in the blood of his Christian subjects. The *peoples* of Europe, it is true, in contrast to the *governments*, made no secret of their sympathy with the cause of freedom. Bands of volunteers, among whom was the most famous poet of the time, Lord Byron,[1] gathered under the Greek banners,

[1] He died of fever, a martyr to the cause, in 1824 at Missolonghi.

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but such occasional help hardly delayed the triumph of the Egyptian pasha. Finally, in 1826, Canning succeeded in interesting the new Czar, Nicholas I., who had just succeeded his brother Alexander, in the Greek cause, and together they agreed to interpose. In the next year they succeeded in bringing France to their side, and the three powers agreed (Treaty of London) to end hostilities at once. This resolution, taken by a majority of the powers, and formed in behalf of freedom against an established and legitimate sovereign, may be accepted as the finishing blow to the so-called Holy Alliance. The fleets of the three powers sailed to the Morea to inform the Egyptian commander that warfare must cease, and when the outraged Mussulman refused to comply, his fleet was attacked at Navarino (October 20, 1827) and utterly wrecked.

They destroy the Mohammedan fleet at Navarino.

War between Turkey and Russia, 1828–29.

The roar of the guns at Navarino announced the birth of a free state to the world, but the Sultan was not yet willing to yield the point. Mistakenly thinking that he could save the day, he issued a defiance to his nearest enemy, the Czar, who answered with a declaration of war. Thus the Greek struggle terminated in a Turco-Russian war, in which the Russians soon proved their superiority, crossed successively the Danube and the Balkans, and moved upon Constantinople. In this crisis the Sultan's resistance collapsed, and in the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) he yielded every point at issue. Not only did he grant the powers the right to settle the affairs of Greece, but he also conceded home rule to the Roumanian provinces (Wallachia and Moldavia). Furthermore, Russia acquired a right of perpetual interference in the affairs of Turkey, which practically put the Sultan at her mercy.

Otto of Bavaria is called to the Greek throne.

After prolonged discussions over the future of Greece, the powers agreed that the country was to constitute a free monarchy and settled the crown upon Otto, a Bavarian

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prince. But before this result was reached, Europe itself had broken with the reaction by a general revolutionary upheaval, having its origin in the old centre of disturbance, France.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE BOURBON RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1830

REFERENCES: FYFFE, Modern Europe, Chapter XVI.; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, Chapter II., pp. 22–36; Chapters VIII.–IX.; SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter V., pp. 103–35; Chapter VIII., pp. 229–38; Chapter XII., pp. 374–88; ANDREWS, Modern Europe, Chapters IV., VI.

SOURCE READINGS: ANDERSON, Constitutions and Documents, Nos. 101–5; ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapter XXXIX. (French charter of 1814, reasons for Belgian independence).

Louis XVIII. grants a constitution.

THE restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, and again in 1815, was the work of the allies, for the old royal family was as good as forgotten in France and aroused no enthusiasm among the people. Its position, therefore, was precarious, and its success would depend on the wisdom with which it used its opportunity. Louis XVIII., the most moderate member of his family, made a not unpromising beginning when he published a constitution (*la charte constitutionelle*), which recognized the institutions of Napoleon—his administration, his judicial system, his church, his army, and even his nobility—and conceded to the people a share in legislation by two houses, a Chamber of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies. Here was the solemn assurance that the restoration of the old dynasty did not mean the return of the old *régime*, and that France was to remain in possession of the social and administrative advantages secured by the Revolution.

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The ultra-royalists.

The main problem before the king was to create confidence and allay suspicion. But this was difficult in view of the fact that he was surrounded at court by the *émigrés*, who had flocked back with the fall of Napoleon and foolishly imagined that they had come once more into their own. At their head was the count of Artois, the king's fanatic brother, who in twenty-five years of exile had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. These courtly gentlemen thought chiefly of revenge and repression. Selfishly animated with the desire to recover their confiscated estates and to restore the Church to power, they compassed, after a few ephemeral triumphs, their own ruin and that of the royal family. Their party policy—they were known as ultra-royalists—was not, at least for the present, to overthrow the constitution, but to insist on a sharp control of the press and to insure themselves a majority in the chamber by restricting the right to vote to a very small body of wealthy citizens.

Louis, at first liberal, yields to the ultras.

Louis XVIII., with laudable common-sense, at first resisted the clamor of the ultras, but was too weak to maintain his position in the face of their continued pressure. The assassination in 1820 of his nephew, the duke of Berri, shook him profoundly. Although the murder was the deed of a fanatic, the liberals were held responsible for it, and had to yield power to the ultras under their leader, Villèle. Now at last the party of the hated *émigrés* had conquered the king; controlling also the ministry and chambers, it carried what laws it pleased, muzzled the press, limited the right to vote, sent an army into Spain to put down revolution, and governed France in a way to delight the heart of Metternich. While this party was floating on the tide of power Louis XVIII. died (1824). He was succeeded by the count of Artois, under the title Charles X., whose accession completed the triumph of the forces of reaction.

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Charles X. carries out a *coup d'état.*

Events now rapidly travelled toward the inevitable crisis. The repressive policy of Villèle raised him enemies even among the royalist deputies, and the elections of 1827 brought him a crushing defeat. He took his dismissal, but the infatuated king clung stubbornly to the policy of the past, only to find that the Chamber of Deputies would no longer support him and that the country began to show ominous signs of unrest. With the courage of ignorance he resolved to break resistance by an illegal act, a so-called *coup d'état.* On July 26, 1830, he issued, in the spirit of the old absolutism, four ordinances by which he practically suppressed the newspapers and still further limited the right to vote.

The revolution of July, 1830.

The ordinances sounded a challenge which was immediately taken up. Bands of students and workmen paraded the streets cheering the constitution; but presently the ominous cry was raised and echoed from street to street, "Down with the Bourbons!" The king himself was at St. Cloud and the few thousand troops in Paris were not adequate to keep the insurgents in hand. Occasional conflicts soon led to a pitched battle, in which the soldiers, outnumbered and fighting without enthusiasm, yielded ground until their commander ordered them to evacuate the capital. On the night of July 29th, the people, brimful, after three days of fighting, of the old republican spirit, rested from their bloody and triumphant work.

The middle class turns to Louis Philippe.

In spite of Charles's misrule, there was a large monarchical party of liberal tendency still in France, and this party now stepped forward to save the country from anarchy. In opposition to the street-fighters, who were workmen of republican sympathies, they were members of the middle class or bourgeoisie. In a gathering of leaders it was decided that what France wanted was a really constitutional monarchy, and that the person to secure it was Louis Philippe,

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duke of Orleans. The duke was head of the younger branch of the House of Bourbon and had a revolutionary record, for he had served for a time (1792–93) in the republican army. This, and the fact that his father was the unsavory Egalité of Jacobin fame, had opened an unbridgeable chasm between him and the elder branch of his House. At the invitation of the moderates he appeared in Paris and by an adroit conciliation of the republicans, who had accepted the aged Lafayette as leader, took the reins into his hands, practically without opposition. The first business of the improvised government would in all likelihood be a struggle with Charles X. But the king pleasantly disappointed expectations. In a fit of despondency he resigned in favor of his little grandson and fled to England; but the Chamber of Deputies chose to take no further note of his acts, and, on August 7th, proceeded to proclaim Louis Philippe king of the French.

Louis Philippe, king of the French.

The succession of the younger or Orleans branch of the Bourbons to the throne, which at first blush seems to measure the whole achievement of the so-called July revolution, does not express the whole change which came over France. In the first place, the constitution was modified in a liberal sense, above all, by reducing the property qualification and thereby doubling the number of electors; and, second, the coronation of Louis Philippe was nothing less than a complete change of system. Charles X. represented legitimacy and the old *régime;* he was identified with the *émigrés* and the Church, and ruled by grace of God. Louis Philippe, a revolutionary and illegitimate sovereign, was abominated and avoided by the old royalists, and in order to secure his throne had to lean upon the monarchical middle class. For this reason the July monarchy is often called the reign of the bourgeoisie, and Louis Philippe himself the citizen-king (*roi-bourgeois*). Caricatures habitually represented

Results of the revolution.

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him as a thickset, comfortable grocer, armed with a huge umbrella.

Effect of the revolution on Europe.

Meanwhile, the report of the revolution in Paris had travelled abroad, producing joy among the peoples of Europe and equal consternation among the governments. Since the work of the reaction was so easily undone in France, there was good reason to hope that the national and liberal sentiment, outraged by the Congress of Vienna and persecuted by the mean-spirited police-control of Metternich and Alexander, might assert itself with success. France, ever since the eighteenth century the acknowledged leader of opinion in Europe, had given the signal, to which her imitators and admirers everywhere joyfully responded.

The Belgians discontented with the Dutch.

The first people to be infected with the new spirit were the Belgians. The reader will remember that by the Congress of Vienna the old Austrian provinces had been annexed to Holland in order to create a strong power on the French border. But the union was unfortunate, for the Belgians were not treated as equals but subjected to the Dutch, while the fact that one state was Protestant and the other Catholic kept up a constant irritation, very cleverly fostered by the Belgian clergy. Besides, there was the question of race; while a large section of the Belgians were Flemings and closely allied to the Dutch, about one-half were Walloons, that is, Celts who used the French language. Lastly, Flemings and Walloons alike were imbued with French civilization and looked rather toward Paris for inspiration than toward The Hague.

The Belgians revolt, August, 1830.

In August, 1830, a revolt, begun in Brussels, spread so rapidly that the Dutch army had to abandon the whole country with the exception of a few fortresses. King William, who had treated the Belgian national movement with much contempt, now offered concessions, but it was

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too late. Nothing short of complete independence would satisfy the revolutionists, and since the Dutch king resisted this demand, war was almost a certainty.

Europe interferes in behalf of the Belgians.

Here was an opportunity for a typical Metternichian intervention in behalf of the "legitimate" monarch, but in proof that democracy reigned supreme for the moment, the exact opposite occurred. A conference of the powers held in London decided to yield to the will of the Belgian people and sever their lot from the Dutch. King William was cowed into acquiescence, and, not without many difficulties and delays, the Belgians declared themselves a constitutional monarchy and elected Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as their king. The boundary of the new realm caused a prolonged dispute with the offended king of the Netherlands, but this matter, too, was gradually disposed of, and Belgium, a new state under a new dynasty, was added to the fraternity of nations.

The revolution of 1830 in Italy.

In central Europe, in Italy and Germany, the revolution was not received with such enthusiasm as might be expected, when we consider that these countries had been made the innocent victims of the treaties of 1815. In Italy there was no outbreak outside the papal states, where the government, exclusively in the hands of the clergy, was as unprogressive as that of Turkey itself. Of course the Pope called in the Austrians, who quickly extinguished the revolutionary fire. The fact was that Italy, in consequence of the defeat of its democratic hopes in 1821 and its experience of Austrian omnipotence, was unwilling for the present to risk a national conflict. The total result of the year 1830 for the peninsula was an increased sense of enslavement to Austria and an increased hatred of the master.

Germany during the dominance of Metternich.

In Germany political activity had been reduced to very meagre proportions between 1815 and 1830. The Bund, as its projectors planned, was treated as a nonentity by the

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sovereign states and soon became a laughing-stock.[1] The only occasion on which it showed signs of life was when, at the instance of Metternich, it adopted police measures for bridling the universities and the press, and hunting the sporadic democrats to their holes (Carlsbad decrees, 1819). In the middle states of South Germany—Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden—constitutions were granted by the rulers, and here all that Germany could show of political activity during this period took refuge. The two great states, Austria and Prussia, and almost all of the small North German states, were, politically speaking, as dead as extinct volcanoes. In all this region absolutism flourished unchecked. In Austria the reaction had no single redeeming feature; Metternich's hand seemed to have paralyzed the national energies. In Prussia the case was somewhat different. The king had indeed not fulfilled his promise to his people, given at the height of the struggle with Napoleon, to create a representative government, but he offered some compensation by a rigidly honest administration and a progressive economic policy. His leading achievement was the Customs-Union, called *Zollverein*. Begun in 1818 and completed after patient efforts continued through a generation, it gathered around Prussia, under a uniform tariff system, all the German states except Austria, and by this economic unity paved the way to political consolidation.

Prussia creates the *Zollverein*.

The revolution of 1830 in Germany.

This was the situation when the news of the revolution in Paris reached Germany. A really significant movement would have to be initiated in the great states, Austria and Prussia, but as these remained quiet, the outbreaks in Germany never acquired more than a local character. In a number of the absolute states of North Germany—Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Saxony, Hanover—there were risings

[1] This is the time when the street-boys sang Heine's rhyme: "Bund, Du Hund, bist nicht gesund."

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which were quickly disposed of by the grant of representative government. Phlegmatic Germany, unused to the exercise of political rights, had not acquired the revolutionary habit, and the sole result of the year 1830 was the establishment of constitutionalism in the small states. In Austria and Prussia the absolute system as yet survived, though it was clear as daylight that the peoples of these states, too, would before long be seized by the liberal current of the time.

The German movement of 1830 liberal, not national.

It deserves special notice that the German movement of 1830 was not only scattered and local, but exclusively liberal in tendency, and that no cry was raised for a more effective national organization. The Bund, with its Diet of princely delegates sitting at Frankfort, remained as feeble and despised as ever. Evidently it took the national movement a long time to gather force, for it was plain that German sentiment, once aroused, would first and without delay shatter this travesty of a national senate. The conclusion to be derived from the events of the year 1830 is that the liberal movement in Germany was more developed than the national one, but that both alike were hardly out of their swaddling clothes.

Alexander creates the kingdom of Poland.

But if the year 1830 saw hardly more than storm-signals in Germany, there was a fierce tempest to the east of her, in Poland. We have seen that at the Congress of Vienna the Czar Alexander, to whom had been assigned the grand-duchy of Warsaw, converted it into the kingdom of Poland with himself as king. At the same time he gave it a constitution, by which it acquired independence from Russia, a Diet to manage its own affairs, together with a Polish administration and a Polish army. That this was an act of unusual magnanimity cannot be denied, but it did not satisfy the Polish nation. The Poles chafed under the few remaining restrictions and could not forget the time when the

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parts were reversed, and they, and not Russia, ruled eastern Europe.

The Poles rise in revolt, November, 1830.

The discontent was kept under control while Alexander lived, but Nicholas I. had no sooner succeeded his brother (1825) than the signs of conflict multiplied. The excitement caused by the July revolution applied the torch to the accumulated discontent, and in November, 1830, the capital, Warsaw, rose in insurrection. The country took the cue from the metropolis, the few Russian troops retired with all possible speed, and not without surprise at the ease of the achievement, the Poles discovered that they were free under a government of their own.

Reasons for the Polish failure.

Plainly, the success of the movement depended on united, intelligent action. But that was hard to obtain, owing to the impatience and caprice which lay in the national character, and to the lamentable social divisions. For one thing the landed proprietors, being great nobles, found it difficult to agree with the democratic element in the city of Warsaw, and second, the bulk of the nation were agricultural laborers, in a condition little above that of brutes. Serfs for centuries, they had indeed been declared free by Napoleon (1807); but as nothing was done to convert them into peasant-proprietors, they lived from hand to mouth and were worse off than before. Nevertheless, recruits flocked to the standards, and with next to no training and a very deficient equipment the Poles sustained a most honorable combat, when in the spring of 1831 Czar Nicholas launched his Russian legions against them. But mere valor was of no avail; at Ostrolenka (May, 1831) the Russians overwhelmed the Poles with their numbers, and a few months later (September) entered Warsaw in triumph. Thus the seal of fate was set upon the *finis Poloniæ* pronounced in the previous century.

When the Russian autocrat again took hold, it was with the

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grim resolve to remove all chances of another Polish revolution. He firmly believed that he had been trifled with because he and his predecessor had proved themselves too kind. He would not err in that way any more. He began by abrogating Alexander's constitution and merging Poland with Russia as a Russian province. Then he carried through a succession of measures which aimed to break the rebellious spirit of the Poles: a Russian army of occupation was saddled on the country; Russian was made the official language; the press was put under supervision; and most of the educational institutions were closed. Poland fell into a sad eclipse. Bound and gagged she lay at the feet of Russia, but as long as there was life her people were determined to cling to their national memories. And they have clung to them to this day.

Poland crushed by the Russian autocracy.

Reviewing the effects of the revolution of 1830 throughout Europe, we may assert that though its fruits, outside of France and Belgium, were small, a new era had struggled into being. The liberal platform, inspired by the faith that nationality should be respected and that political control belongs not to the monarchs but to the peoples, had directed universal attention to itself and could never again be treated as a trifle. The best the old reactionaries like Metternich could do from now on was to delay the coming of the dawn; they could not bring back the chains and darkness of the period of congresses and intervention.

Results of the revolution of 1830.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE (1830–48) AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

REFERENCES: FYFFE, Modern Europe, Chapter XVI., pp. 641–44; Chapter XVIII., pp. 699–706; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, Chapter XI., pp. 256–72; SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter V., pp. 134–52; Chapter VI., pp. 155–65; ANDREWS, Modern Europe, Chapters VII.–VIII.

SOURCE READINGS: ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapter XL. (Overthrow of Louis Philippe); ANDERSON, Constitutions and Documents, Nos. 106–10.

Louis Philippe is supported by the middle class.

WE have seen that Louis Philippe, called to the throne by the revolution of July, was by the nature of the case obliged to found his power upon the monarchical section of the people, the middle class. It was unfortunate that the revolution had not been made by this class, but by republican workingmen, who ever afterward felt that they had been cheated of their labor, and immediately drifted into an embittered opposition. Thus Louis Philippe became, whether he would or no, the head, not of the nation, but of one of its social divisions, and this is the really significant feature of his reign. The name citizen-king describes not only his position, but also his character. He abandoned the traditional royal pomp, exhibited an easy good-fellowship, lived simply with his numerous family, and at every crisis fell back on his native thrift and obstinacy, characteristic qualities which he shared with his middle-class supporters.

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Legitimists, republicans, socialists.

The monarchy of the bourgeoisie never had a day of absolute security. Its two most persistent enemies were the legitimists and the republicans. The legitimists, devoted to the elder Bourbon branch, were constantly stirring up opposition, but apart from one outbreak in that home of troubles, the Vendée, were content with a latent hostility. In the Vendée, the duchess of Berri, mother of the young Bourbon claimant, Henry V., courageously led a movement (1832) which appealed to the imagination, but also, from its failure to arouse the masses, served to show that the legitimist cause was moribund. Far more serious was the republican opposition. The leaders, young enthusiasts, appealed to the working-class, and the working-class, as it happened, were just then a growing section of the nation. For the industrial revolution, the product of science and machinery, had set in, and everywhere factory-quarters arose with a new population, housed amid soot and squalor. At first the republicans strove to organize the workingmen for a purely political revolution, but many of the leaders presently made up their minds that a social revolution, having as its object the improvement of the conditions of the wage-earners, was more to the point. Accordingly, they drifted into socialism. In France and under Louis Philippe this movement, which has since travelled round the world, took its start. With Louis Philippe in power the old republicans and their offshoot, the socialists, saw no reason to divide their forces, but kept up a united and violent opposition. In the first part of his reign they appealed several times to arms (1832 and 1834), but having been suppressed with bloody consequences, they settled down to a quiet propaganda until their hour should strike.

The Parliamentary issue.

Though from the social point of view the growth of the wage-earners and the secret ferment among them is the most interesting feature of Louis Philippe's reign, the con-

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scious political life of that generation was hardly affected by it. We have noticed that the government never enjoyed the favor of the legitimists and the republicans, but after their early attempts these parties recognized their weakness and desisted from violence. Without doubt their continued existence implied danger, but, discouraged by failure, they abandoned the stage and left it to the middle class. This class, therefore, ruled, and if its members had been united might have held the reins for a long time. But perpetual union in a great body of thinking men is an impossibility, and the deputies in the Chamber soon split over the question of Parliamentary government. One section, led by Guizot, the historian, believed that the king should choose his ministers as he pleased; another, led by Thiers, also an historian and famous as the panegyrist of the Empire, maintained that he must take them from the majority and carry through their policy. In the one view the king was a free agent, in the other merely the mouthpiece of the Parliament and ministry, as in England. In this conflict, waged entirely among his supporters of the bourgeoisie, Louis Philippe seemed to occupy a neutral position, but secretly inclined to Guizot, and by adroit management secured to that leader, and incidentally to himself, a majority in the Chamber and the unquestioned control of the government. In 1840 Guizot came into power, and in spite of Thiers and every other form of opposition, held it till the monarchy fell.

Guizot and Thiers.

This maintenance of power looked like a capital achievement, but unfortunately, as the result proved, paved the way for revolution. For Guizot and the king, who were hand and glove, not only maintained their Parliamentary majority by freely bribing the electorate and the deputies, but took the ultra-conservative stand of refusing to listen to suggestions of change and progress. Now Thiers, though

Thiers agitates for a more liberal suffrage.

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a monarchist, made up his mind that the beginning of all improvement was the enlargement of the body of electors by lowering the tax-paying qualification, and the agitation which he inaugurated over this question was like the little stone in Nebuchadnezzar's dream which shattered the clay feet of the image of brass and brought it to earth.

The revolution of February, 1848.

The method chosen for the electoral agitation was a series of banquets, at which reform was demanded by the speakers. All through the year 1847 these banquets were in progress, and one, which was to be made a great occasion, with a procession and delegations of students, was set at Paris for February 22, 1848. The government, taking alarm, forbade the meeting, but crowds gathered nevertheless and began to demonstrate on their own account. The next day the riot grew so serious, coupled with so general a demand for reform, that the king yielded and dismissed Guizot. This was as much as Thiers intended, but popular passions had been aroused, and by February 24th had swelled to such a pitch that they burst all bounds. The morning of that day began with an assault upon the Tuileries by the republican masses, whose savage determination frightened the timid king into resigning in favor of his little grandson. While the sovereign himself sought safety in flight, the duchess of Orleans led her son, the count of Paris, to the Chamber of Deputies and had him proclaimed king. But it was already too late. The republican multitude invaded the hall, ignored the deputies, and set up a provisional government. Owing to the fact that the socialistic republicans had helped in the street-fighting, some of their leaders were associated with the government, and the two united factions began their rule by announcing to the world that France was henceforth a republic.

The republic is proclaimed.

Republicans and socialists.

But at this point harmony ceased, for the two republican parties stood for entirely different ideals. The old repub-

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licans wanted merely a political revolution after the manner of 1793, but the new school of socialists was content with nothing less than complete industrial reorganization. The clash began immediately, the advantage resting at first with the socialists. By means of demonstrations on the part of the workingmen they forced the provisional ministry to proclaim that the state "undertakes to provide labor for all citizens," and to establish, as a means of fulfilling this promise, so-called "national workshops." That ended the socialistic triumph, for when in April the general elections for an Assembly, called upon to give France a constitution, took place, the country, placed between republicans and socialists, showed its horror of the unfamiliar tenets of the new school by returning an immense republican majority. At the opening of the Assembly the mixed provisional government resigned and the republicans took hold in earnest. The socialists no sooner noted the change than they took alarm, and by two insurrections (May and June) attempted to retrieve their fortunes. Their last rising, which lasted four days (June 23d–26th), led to the severest battle which Paris, familiar for ages with street-fighting, had ever witnessed. Certainly only men moved by courage and conviction could stand up, as these social reformers did, against cannon and musketry fire, but they were overborne, their leaders killed or exiled, and the party shattered for many a day.

The socialists overthrown.

The national work-shops.

The great rising of June was not only a general protest against the republican majority, but was undertaken for the specific purpose of saving the "national workshops," which the republicans were preparing to close, and which, after their victory, they suppressed summarily. This socialist experiment has invited a good deal of attention on the ground that it tested the theory that industrial enterprises can be profitably nationalized; that is, put under the control of the

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state. But the French experiment was a test only in name; for the government, having no sympathy with the socialist programme, instead of establishing workshops, merely set the unemployed to digging at the fortifications of Paris. That this accomplished nothing, as the republicans averred, but the embarrassment of the treasury, is true; but it is also true, as the socialists asserted, that the failure of the experiment in this absurd form did not dispose of their theory.

The republican constitution of 1848.

The inference from the savage struggle of the spring of 1848 was that France, although a republic, was not ready to indulge in hazardous experiments. With their enemies overthrown, the republican majority of the Assembly proceeded to fulfil its mission of giving France a constitution. Insisting on the democratic principle that "all public powers emanate from the people," it vested the legislative power in a single Assembly of 750 members elected by universal suffrage, and the executive power in a citizen, elected as president for four years. As to the manner of the president's election, it was agreed, after much discussion, that he, too, was to be chosen directly by the people. The election followed on December 10, 1848, and to the surprise of all unacquainted with the heart of the French people the choice fell, not upon General Cavaignac, the leader of the republicans and the hero of the battles of June, but upon Louis Napoleon.

Career of the new president.

That this prince should ever be called to the head of the nation by universal suffrage would never have been dreamed by any one who had followed his career. He was the son of Napoleon's brother Louis, king of Holland, and after the death of Napoleon's only son at Vienna (1832) was regarded as chief of the House of Bonaparte. As such he felt it his duty to conspire for his dynasty, and made two attempts in ludicrous imitation of Napoleon's return from Elba, which

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were greeted by Europe with an outburst of Homeric laughter. In 1836 he suddenly appeared in Strasburg, but in spite of his uncle's hat, sword, and boots, donned for the occasion, was marched off to prison. Undaunted, he made another attempt to rouse France in 1840 by appearing at Boulogne; but the boat conveying him and a few helpmates capsized, and wet and dripping he was fished out of the Channel by the ubiquitous police. For this second escapade he was condemned to imprisonment, but in 1846 made his escape to England. On the proclamation of the republic he became a candidate for the Assembly and was repeatedly returned by the electors. Plainly, he was outliving the ridicule he had aroused, and by his clever trading upon the magic name Napoleon was rallying about him all those classes, especially the peasants, who clung to the traditions of the empire. The election to the presidency of the republic was an honor addressed to the dead warrior rather than to his puny representative, but it furnished an ominous sign that the love of republican institutions was not very deeply rooted in the French conscience. Sincere republicans gazed at each other with consternation, and were assailed by the suspicion that the days of the new republic were numbered. How well-founded this fear was we shall presently see.

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CHAPTER XX

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND ITALY

REFERENCES: FYFFE, Modern Europe; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, Chapters XII.–XIII.; SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter XI., pp. 335–48; Chapter XII., pp. 389–99; Chapter XIII., pp. 401–23; ANDREWS, Modern Europe, Chapters IX.–X.; THAYER, Dawn of Italian Independence, Vol. II., Books 4–5; BOLTON KING, History of Italian Unity (1814–71), Vol. I., Part II., Chapters IX.–XIII.; HENDERSON, Short History of Germany, Vol. II., Chapter VIII.

SOURCE READINGS: ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapter XL., Section 2.

The revolutionary spirit manifests itself in central Europe.

As we have seen, the revolution of 1830 produced no great changes in central Europe because the liberal and national sentiment had not yet become organized and powerful. Hence, the succeeding period had been one of continued reaction, relieved, however, by signs that the masses were becoming conscious of their servitude and ready to shake off the shackles of absolutism. Again the events at Paris served as a signal fire. A wave of jubilation passed over all the peoples from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and they arose and declared for a free government and a national state. France once again vindicated her claim to be regarded as leader of Europe, but it is a fact that, even without her example, Italy, Austria, and Germany would not have supported the rule of repression much longer.

Revolution at Vienna, March, 1848.

Metternich's own capital, the very hearthstone of the spirit of reaction, was one of the first to feel the breath of the new freedom. On March 13, 1848, Vienna rose and

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drove the aging prince, who more than any man was responsible for the narrow conservatism of the first half of the century, from the chancellery of the Austrian empire and from the capital. With him the whole system he had so elaborately built up collapsed at once, absolutism was renounced, and the feeble Emperor Ferdinand, frightened by the tumult in the streets, speedily promised a constitution and a Parliament. A new era seemed to dawn upon the realm of the Hapsburgs.

Revolution at Berlin.

The news of the fall of Metternich caused exultation throughout Germany, on which his hand had rested with no less heaviness than on Italy. Riots broke out in many of the small capitals of the Bund, and on March 18th Berlin followed the example of Vienna and rose to protest against the autocratic system. In view of Prussia's indifference to the revolution of 1830 this result was surprising. But the last decade had been preparing changes. The old king of the Wars of Liberation had been succeeded in 1840 by his son, Frederick William IV., and the generation which stood about the latter's throne was no longer satisfied with mere administrative efficiency, but demanded a share in legislation. Frederick William, in spite of his belief in Divine Right, had, as early as 1847, yielded so far as to call to Berlin a meeting of provincial delegates (the United Diet), sufficient proof that the movement of 1848 was more than a sudden popular caprice. As a result of the March days, which did not pass without the spilling of blood, the king withdrew his troops from the capital and promised to call a Parliament.

The revolution is national as well as liberal.

Thus all Germany was in the very first days of the new revolution converted to constitutionalism. But there was an equally potent desire among the people for an effective German union. Resolved to strike the iron while it was hot, the liberal leaders of various German states met, calmly shelved the Bund, and issued a call for a German Parliament,

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to be elected by universal suffrage and endowed with full authority to create a supreme federal government.

A national Parliament at Frankfort.

The German Parliament, morally and intellectually a very distinguished body of men, met in May, 1848, at Frankfort-on-the-Main. It had a sincere desire to establish German unity; it had the learning necessary to solve all knotty constitutional problems; but it suffered from one fatal defect: it had no army, no body of administrative officials; in a word, no power. In the first weeks of revolutionary excitement that defect might be supplied by an irresistible public opinion; but if opinion weakened and the state governments, panic-stricken for the present by the revolutionary movement, recovered breath and courage—what then? The Bund had been established expressly to guarantee the sovereignty of the thirty-eight states, which would certainly not yield their dearest possession with composure. Austria and Prussia, in particular, proud of their traditions as great powers, could hardly be expected to bow weakly to the Democratic and revolutionary body sitting at Frankfort. Sooner or later one or the other or both would follow an independent policy, and the clash, testing the question of supremacy, would be at hand.

The Schleswig-Holstein difficulty.

The clash came over the Schleswig-Holstein complication. This is one of the most confused questions of history, the veritable nightmare of European diplomacy for a whole generation. The two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein occupy the southern half of the peninsula of Jutland, and are inhabited, except for the northern rim of Schleswig, which is Danish, by a German population. The king of Denmark was also duke of Schleswig and Holstein, but the two duchies were otherwise independent, having each its own laws and its own administration; and this independence, chiefly because of the difference in race, the duchies were very anxious to preserve. The test came through the ques-

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tion of succession. The royal House at Copenhagen, about to die out in the male line, was in a quandary. The Danish law permitted the crown to pass to the female line, while the Schleswig-Holstein law, at least in the view of the German population, recognized only male succession. With separation staring him in the face, the Danish king declared in 1846 that he would under all circumstances maintain the unity of his monarchy. Great excitement prevailed at this announcement, and taking advantage in 1848 of the general disturbance of Europe, the Schleswig-Holsteiners, eager to be independent, rose in revolt.

Prussia disobeys the Parliament.

At this point the Parliament of Frankfort stepped in. Although determined to help the German brethren of the duchies, it was hampered by the fact that it had no armed force. Accordingly, it was obliged to put the destiny of its *protégés* in the hands of Prussia. The Prussians, entering Schleswig-Holstein, presently drove back the Danes, but the latter retaliated by seizing the Prussian merchant vessels in the Baltic. This fact, coupled with the interference of Russia and England, determined Frederick William to sign a truce with Denmark (August 26th), by which he practically delivered the duchies into the hands of the Danes. This action, branded as treason by the orators of the Parliament, roused great indignation. After a hot debate the Prussian armistice was reluctantly indorsed, because the Assembly had no army to enforce its opposition; but this yielding to Prussia furnished to the world the proof of the powerlessness of the Parliament over the states which it professed to control. After the armistice had been accepted, the members returned to the constitutional labors for which they had been summoned, where we shall leave them for the present while we look into the affairs of Austria and Italy.

Austria falls apart.

The Austrian empire was as crazy a patchwork as has ever been pieced together by fortune and state-craft. Ger-

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mans in the west, Hungarians in the east, Italians in the south, and Slavs almost everywhere were expected to live together as brethren in a common household. A certain degree of harmony was maintained while the emperor at Vienna was undisputed lord and master; but as soon as the March revolution destroyed his autocracy, the component races flew apart with violent centrifugal action. In a few weeks the Italians at Milan and Venice drove out the Austrian troops, the Hungarians raised the banner of revolt, the Slavs of Bohemia, called Czechs, planned to follow their example, and to the casual view the proud empire seemed a thing of the past. Let us follow these insurrections in their leading centres.

The Italian patriots turn upon Austria.

In Italy the fall of Metternich was no sooner reported than the people of Lombardy and Venice, long restive under his lash, rose, fell upon the troops, and declared for independence. The Austrian army, yielding for the moment, retired in good order under its general, Radetzky, to a chain of impregnable fortifications prepared for just such an occasion, and known as the Quadrilateral. A provisional government at Milan appealed to all Italy for help, and especially to Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, the most powerful and most patriotic of the local princes. For the moment the national movement was irresistible, and all the more important rulers, the grand-duke of Tuscany, the king of Naples, and even the Pope, sent contingents to fight side by side with the Sardinians for the liberation of the northern provinces. It was Italy's first great national war; its purpose the expulsion of the foreigner.

Austria defeats Sardinia and Italy.

In this heroic enterprise, originating in the spontaneous action of the people, there was one fatal defect. Among the motley Italian forces the Sardinian army was the only efficient body, and its numbers were too small to resist the Austrian legions. When the clash came at Custozza, on

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July 25th, the veteran Radetzky inflicted a decisive defeat on the king of Sardinia, reconquered Lombardy, and obliged Charles Albert to sue for a truce. When at the expiration of the truce the war was renewed, the Austrians won another great victory at Novara (March, 1849), and the struggle was over. Sick at heart the defeated Charles Albert abdicated, and his successor, Victor Emmanuel, made haste to sign a treaty with Austria by which he retired from the war and received back his undiminished realm. That left the Austrians face to face with their two revolted provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. Milan, the capital of Lombardy, being already in their hands, siege was now laid to Venice and the city obliged, after a splendid defence, to capitulate.

The revolution in Naples.

Though the struggle in the north against Austria is the climax of the Italian revolution, the rest of the peninsula shared in the aspirations and delusions of that year of turmoil. While the revolutionary movement was at its height, the Pope, the grand-duke of Tuscany, the king of Naples, and the lesser princes had made every conceivable concession to the liberals; but as soon as the tide receded, they hurried to return to the absolute *régime*. The king of Naples was the first to forget his promises. A despot without a scruple, or, rather, a vaudeville sovereign in real life, he overthrew the constitutional system, first in Naples proper, and afterward in Sicily. A reaction worse than that imposed by the Austrians on Lombardy, because its author was more despicable, fastened upon the fair provinces of the south. Far more memorable was the march of the revolution in the central section, in the States of the Church, governed at this time by Pius IX. In fact, the movement here throws a profound searchlight into Italian history.

The revolution at Rome.

Pius IX., elected to the papacy in 1846, was a kind and affable man, with a reputation for liberalism which he owed chiefly to an occasional good-natured word for it. He

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sympathized also, to a certain extent, with the Italian national movement, and when Lombardy revolted against Austria, began by approving the action. But as soon as he became aware of the consequences, he called a halt. To send troops against Austria meant a declaration of war against that power and the adoption of a policy hardly consistent with his position as Pope. He found himself in a dilemma, the inevitable consequence of his twofold character, for as Pope and successor of the Prince of Peace he had spiritual obligations toward the whole Catholic world; and as lord of an Italian territory he had definite temporal interests, the commanding one just now being to join with the nation against the foreign conqueror. When he saw himself obliged to choose between his obligations to Catholicism and those to his state, he naturally preferred the greater to the lesser, and to the immense indignation of his people withdrew from the Austrian war. The incident proved that a Pope, occupying an international position, could never follow exclusive national ends, and the lesson sunk deep into Italian hearts. The immediate consequence was a revolution. A strong republican faction pronounced against Pius as a traitor to Italy; and when, alarmed at the situation, he sought refuge (November 24, 1848) with his friend, the king of Naples, the liberals took affairs into their own hands and erected the papal dominion into a republic. The leading spirit of the new government was Mazzini, a pioneer of Italian unity and a tireless conspirator against the selfish reigning houses of his unhappy country.

The Roman republic.

The Roman republic never had more than a fighting chance to live. Catholic peoples the world over were horrified at the dispossession of the Holy Father, and made ready to interfere. Louis Napoleon, just elected president of the French republic, was especially delighted at the op-

Napoleon overthrows the Roman republic.

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portunity offered to curry favor with the Catholic clergy and peasantry of France; heedless of the fact that he was pitting republic against republic, he sent an army to Rome to sweep Mazzini and his followers out of the city. General Garibaldi, who had been created commander-in-chief, made a gallant fight, but had to give way to numbers, and in July, 1849, the French entered the conquered city. When the disillusioned Pope returned to his capital, he was cured of every predilection for reform, and reëstablished the hateful clerical administration with all its time-worn abuses.

Italy looks to the House of Savoy.

Thus closed the revolutionary war for Italy with a harvest of disappointments. Affairs relapsed to their former state; the brave effort had been apparently in vain. But one fact had been brought home to Italians, which was that they had in the king of Sardinia the one faithful ruler of the land, and in his army the one hope of redemption. Charles Albert had stood by the cause till his overthrow, and Victor Emmanuel, in spite of bribes and threats from Austria, refused to become a reactionary and to withdraw the constitution granted to Piedmont in 1848. Such conduct aroused a love and admiration which drew the eyes of all Italy toward the House of Savoy.

The army saves Austria.

While Austria was successfully reducing the Italians, she had her hands full with revolutions in every other part of her dominions. We have noted that the rising of the Germans at Vienna was the signal for similar risings among the Italians, Hungarians, and Czechs, not to mention a number of smaller nationalities. With confusion reigning at the capital and the emperor no better than an imbecile, it is certain that the state would have been lost, had it not been for the army. Its powerful discipline held it together, in spite of the general chaos; in Italy it had just proved its metal. Its leaders were of course eager to apply Radetzky's remedy of the sword to all the other rebels, and soon showed how diffi-

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cult it is for a mere mob to stand up against professional soldiers. In June, 1848, Windischgraetz, commanding in Bohemia, disposed without much difficulty of the rebellious Czechs, and encouraged by his success marched shortly after upon the Germans at Vienna. There the inhabitants made a courageous stand, and it was not till October that the army stormed the gates and forced its way into the city. With Czechs and Germans once more under the rule of the bayonet, and the Italians delivered to the bloody mercies of Radetzky, there remained only the Hungarian revolt to crush for Austria to be her accustomed self again.

The revolution in Hungary.

But the Hungarian revolt turned out to be the toughest task that the imperial army undertook, probably because the Hungarians were the most tenacious of the subjects of the emperor, and in any case the best organized. The kingdom of Hungary was one of the many possessions of the Hapsburg crown. It had an ancient constitution, which the rulers of the past had frequently violated, but latterly a patriotic party had insisted more and more stoutly on its being put in force. The year 1848 brought a complete triumph. The frightened government at Vienna servilely yielded everything that the Hungarians asked, until the successes against the Italians, Czechs, and Germans encouraged it to stiffen its back. From verbal disputes the Austrian Government presently proceeded to war, and in December, 1848, the hitherto victorious Windischgraetz invaded Hungary. The defence which followed constitutes a splendid tribute to the spirit of the little nation. The Hungarians, under their energetic general, Görgei, succeeded in driving the Austrians back upon Vienna, and elated by their success declared the House of Hapsburg deposed. The step was taken under the influence of Louis Kossuth, a republican, who had made himself practically dictator. The measure was of doubtful wisdom, for it drove the Viennese

Kossuth, dictator.

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court to desperation, and induced it to appeal to Czar Nicholas for aid. This Czar, the last true supporter of the principle of intervention as laid down in the era of congresses, responded with alacrity, and presently a Russian army took the Hungarians in the flank. The rebels, caught between two fires, made a good fight; but by August, 1849, all was over, the leaders of the late revolution killed or scattered, and Austrian rule once more supreme.

Return to the policy of repression.

Thus Austria had come out of her terrible crisis apparently unscathed. The victorious court, alarmed by the liberal and racial movements of the past year, now concluded that the only way to save the state was to put all the nationalities on a basis of equality, and subject all alike to a common army and a common administration. As the Emperor Ferdinand had made too many personal pledges, he was induced to abdicate and was succeeded by his young nephew, Francis Joseph.

Reaction in Germany.

On turning back now to Germany, we are immediately struck by the fact that the progress of reaction in Austria greatly encouraged the conservative elements among the German states. The king of Prussia, who had yielded to circumstances but was still an unconverted absolutist, resolved to treat Berlin as Windischgraetz had served Vienna. Troops suddenly took possession of the capital, and the Prussian Diet, which was making a constitution for the state, was prorogued to another city and there dissolved (November 7th). Frederick William might have returned to the old absolutism, but deterred by certain scruples, which redound to his honor, resolved to give his subjects a constitution of his own making. This instrument did not meet all of the liberal demands, but it guaranteed to the people a share in the legislation, and was evidence that in Prussia, almost alone in central Europe, the revolution of 1848 had not been entirely in vain.

Prussia gets a constitution, 1849.

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The German Parliament completes its constitution, 1849.

The next body to feel the reaction was the German Parliament at Frankfort. We left it at the time of its discomfiture in the Schleswig-Holstein matter, when the proof of its weakness had been furnished by its inability to control the policy of Prussia. Since then it had proceeded, in spite of gathering clouds, with its work of uniting all Germany by a constitution. The greatest barrier in its path was Austria. As this state, a mixture of all nationalities, would cut a strange figure in a German national state, it was finally resolved to exclude it from the proposed union. A related difficulty, the headship of Germany, therewith practically solved itself. Not without violent discussion, it was decided that the chief executive should be a hereditary emperor, and that the post should be offered to the king of Prussia. In April, 1849, a deputation from the Parliament travelled to Berlin to offer the crown of united Germany to Frederick William.

The king of Prussia rejects the proffered crown.

Their answer was a refusal. Frederick William was too deeply penetrated with the ideas of Divine Right to have any sympathy for a popular and democratic honor, he was convinced that the constitution was unworkable, and—he was afraid of Austria. Austria was just recovering her energy and notified Berlin, in no uncertain language, that the acceptance of the imperial office by a Hohenzollern would never be suffered by the House of Hapsburg. Frederick William was a well-meaning man of mystical, confused ideas, and, like all waverers, ended by yielding to pressure. The committee of the Parliament went back to Frankfort, reported its failure, and that body, not without a small flurry of revolt, recognized that its work was ended and retired from the scene.

The king of Prussia tries to persuade the governments to unite.

Frederick William, who, in spite of his refusal of the crown, felt that he was pledged to do something for his nation, now tried to persuade the German governments to

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negotiate among themselves about the bases of a new union. His thought was that since the people had failed, the princes should try in their turn. But Austria, which had learned by this time that any form of German union would be injurious to her, threw her whole influence against this scheme as well. Finally, she proposed to reconstitute the old Bund, the great attraction of which was that it left the sovereignty of the princes intact and reduced the power of Prussia to nothing. The Bund had fallen like a house of cards in 1848, but Austria set it up once more and invited everybody to enter and complete the happy family. The princes, selfishly mindful only of their independence, deserted Frederick William and gathered around the Austrian standard. The king of Prussia presently found himself alone; and when Austria, aware that she was dealing with a timid man, haughtily ordered him to give up every idea of a closer union and be satisfied with the Bund, he yielded without a struggle (Treaty of Olmütz, November, 1850). The old Bund—that was the ridiculous issue of the two years' labor of the nation. Germany seemed not to be worthy of a better form of union.

The Bund set up again.

In this general collapse of German hopes and illusions the Schleswig-Holsteiners, who had rebelled against the king of Denmark, could not escape disaster. Abandoned by Prussia in August, 1848, they had several times returned to the fray, but were crushed definitely in 1850. A conference of powers met at London to consider their case and decided the succession question against them. It was agreed (Protocol of 1852) to designate Prince Christian of Glücksburg as heir of the Danish monarchy and of the duchies as well. In spite of their protests the duchies were now subjected to Denmark and their case adjourned till they had summoned strength to rise once more against their masters.

Schleswig-Holstein crushed.

With the German Parliament banished to the shades, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein redelivered to the

German results.

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Danes, the Bund reconstituted at Frankfort, and Austria restored under an absolute sovereign, the Metternichian system with all its attendant miseries had been given a new lease of life. Patriots and liberals were filled with despair. But as no evil is without some grain of good, the confusion of the revolution had shown two things: it had shown that the greatest enemy to German unity was the Austrian court, and that salvation, if it ever came, would have to come from Prussia. Prussia's prestige, it is true, was, after her many failures, lamentably low. But something remained: it was not forgotten that the national hopes had once enthusiastically turned to her; and by her adoption of a constitution she had divorced herself definitely from mediæval forms and planted her feet in the present.

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CHAPTER XXI

FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON III AND THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

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Louis Napoleon favors the monarchical elements.

THE indication furnished by the choice of Louis Napoleon as president, that France did not really want a republic, was converted into positive proof by the elections of May, 1849, to the Legislative Assembly. The country returned an immense monarchical majority, and the only reason the republic was not immediately overthrown lay in the circumstance that the monarchists were divided into three groups: legitimists, favoring the elder Bourbon line; Orleanists, devoted to the family of Louis Philippe, and a rising Bonapartist faction, supporting the president. Louis Napoleon, while doing his best to strengthen his personal supporters, encouraged a combination of all the monarchists to crush the republicans. The Assembly soon showed its hand in a suc-

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cession of conservative measures of which the crowning one was the limitation (1850) of universal suffrage, perhaps the greatest achievement of the late revolution. An even less defensible measure—already referred to in the previous chapter—had been adopted in the spring of 1849 and may be laid principally at the door of the president himself. In order to curry favor with the monarchists and Catholics—the combined conservative element—Louis Napoleon sent an expedition against Mazzini's Roman republic, thereby outraging the liberal sentiment of Europe even more than the Austrians did by their reconquest of Lombardy.

He appeals to the national memory.

Not for a year or two did the monarchical majority of the Chamber begin to understand that Louis Napoleon's ambition was entirely personal, and therefore hostile to their own plans. He was most skilful in sounding the chords of the national memory, and before long was frequently received by the public with the old rallying cry of "*Vive Napoléon!*" and even "*Vive l'empereur!*" The last veil fell from his plans when, in 1851, he presented himself before the legislature with the request to alter the constitution for his own advantage. The constitution fixed the presidential term at four years, without the right to reëlection. As by the operation of this article Louis Napoleon would have become a private citizen in 1852, he urged repeal upon the Chamber. When the Chamber refused, he resolved, in order to save himself, to overthrow the government and constitution.

The *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851.

The *coup d'état* was set for December 2, 1851. As soon as the army was won over, the success of the conspirators was certain. While the troops occupied Paris, closed the hall of the deputies, and put the president's leading opponents under lock and key, the president himself announced by placard the return to the system of his famous uncle as embodied in the Constitution of the Year VIII. The country,

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called upon to express its opinion upon these proceedings, indorsed the *coup d'état* by a large majority. Louis Napoleon thereupon completed his government on the basis of a granted constitution, which, while preserving some liberal forms, as, for instance, a legislative body, practically concentrated the whole power in the hands of the chief executive. There was nothing left to make the triumph complete but to cull its last fruits, and exactly a year after the *coup d'état* the president assumed the title Emperor Napoleon III.

The adventurous policy of Napoleon III.

The new emperor never forgot that he was a usurper and could maintain his throne only with the favor of the French people. As they were sure to exhibit increasing discontent with a domestic *régime* excluding them from all political activity, he resolved to distract their attention by a brilliant foreign policy. This was taking a page from the note-book of Napoleon I., who frequently remarked that all the French people wanted to satisfy them was military glory. Whither the doctrine led that great man we are aware. Napoleon III., too, at first had his triumphs, but without ever climbing as high as his exemplar, managed in the end to fall much lower.

Trouble between Turkey and Russia.

The first chance for playing a rôle presented itself in the east. The weakness shown by the Ottoman empire in the Greek War of Liberation became greater in the succeeding decades, and led the Czar to imagine that the death-agony was at hand. He referred to the Sultan habitually as "the sick man," and persuaded himself that England and Russia between them ought to make ready to divide the heritage. But England preferred the Sultan to the Czar at Constantinople and resolved to act the part of champion of the Turkish empire. There were other complications, which led finally to the Czar's demanding (April, 1853) to be recognized as protector of all Greek Christians resident in Turkey. As this would have made Nicholas co-sovereign with the Sultan

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in the Turkish dominions, the English ambassador urged his *protégé* to refuse. The answer of the Russians was to occupy the Roumanian principalities in order to enforce their claims, and war followed between them and the Turks.

England and France support Turkey.

But Turkey was not left alone this time as in 1828–29. England was in honor bound to help her; and though no vital French interest was at stake, Napoleon, glad to find an occasion to put himself forward, offered England his alliance. Together the two western powers signed a treaty with Turkey (March, 1854) and declared war upon Russia. What had threatened at first to be merely another Turco-Russian conflict, thus became a European war, the first on any considerable scale since the Napoleonic struggle.

The Crimean War, 1854–56.

In the first part of the campaign of 1854 the Russians retired from Roumania into their own territory and stood on the defensive. The allies therefore were obliged to agree upon some point for attack, and after much waste of time hit upon the fortress of Sebastopol in the Crimea. The war practically reduced itself to the siege of this great stronghold, which the Russians defended skilfully and manfully for a whole year. Its fall in September, 1855, discouraged the Russians greatly; and as Czar Nicholas, whose pretensions had caused the war, died during the siege, to be succeeded by his humane and moderate son, Alexander II., negotiations could be begun, which led to the signing of the Peace of Paris (March, 1856). As Turkey had been the ally of France and England, the general effect of the peace was a victory of the Sultan over his ancient foe, the Czar. The decadent and contemptible Ottoman Empire had all its possessions guaranteed by the powers, who engaged not to interfere in its affairs. This plainly meant the delivering over of the Balkan Christians to the tender mercies of the Sultan. But nobody seemed to care as long as the provision robbed Russia of her influence at Constantinople. The fear of

The Peace of Paris, 1856.

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Russia was shown in a further article, by which she was forbidden to keep warships in the Black Sea.

Napoleon's prestige.

The Crimean War, concluded at Paris under the eyes of Napoleon, greatly enhanced his influence; though, as already remarked, it would be hard to say what advantage France reaped therefrom. Napoleon III.'s policy was personal, not national. That is the conclusion which his whole reign confirms, and particularly the steps he now took in the Italian question.

Napoleon reopens the Italian question.

Napoleon, in spite of his name, was not so much a warrior as a clever and juggling politician endowed with ambition and a few general ideas. Among them was that of nationality—every nation must come into its own—and it is one of the pleasanter sides of Napoleon that he was really willing to risk something to bring his idea to realization. The spectacle of a nation in chains had excited his sympathy for Italy even when a lad, and now led him to plan the liberation of the peninsula from Austrian rule—a generous impulse without doubt, but one explained by his personal predilections, not grounded in the necessities of the French state of which he was the temporary guardian.

Cavour allies himself with Napoleon.

Italy since the failure of the rising of 1848 was dominated by Austria. The hopes and prayers of the patriots turned to Sardinia-Piedmont, and this state, under Victor Emmanuel II. and his great minister, Cavour, was systematically preparing itself for a new struggle. But Cavour was convinced that without the help of a great power Sardinia could not wage a victorious war against Austria. The campaign of 1848–49 had pointed this lesson. Cautiously Cavour sought the friendship of Napoleon; joined, merely to put him under obligation, in the Crimean War; waved the national idea before his eyes; and finally concluded with him a formal alliance (Treaty of Plombières, 1858). The alliance was directed against Austria, which was to be driven out of Italy.

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The war began in the spring of 1859, and was over in a few weeks. By two victories, at Magenta and at Solferino, the allies—France and Sardinia—drove the Austrians out of Lombardy back upon the Quadrilateral. Italy was ablaze with bonfires and hailed Napoleon, wherever he appeared, with tumultuous enthusiasm. But much remained to be done; the Quadrilateral, one of the strongest defensive positions of Europe, must be taken before Italy would be free. At that juncture occurred a dramatic change. Just as everybody was expecting news of another great battle, the telegraph flashed the information that Napoleon and Francis Joseph had had a personal interview and arranged a peace (July). Austria agreed to give up Lombardy, but was permitted to retain Venetia, thus retaining a powerful foothold in the peninsula. Victor Emmanuel II. and Cavour, though deeply disappointed, bowed to the inevitable, comforted by the reflection that Italian unity had in one short spring made gigantic strides.

The war of 1859.

The considerations which moved Napoleon to his sudden turn-about were manifold. He was not a masterful character and easily fell victim to his fears. The military problems of breaking through the Quadrilateral alarmed him, Germany, by arming on the Rhine frontier, was threatening his flank, and, above all, the movement in Italy filled him with dismay. He handed over Lombardy to Victor Emmanuel and hurried home, resolved to wash his hands of the troublesome Italian matter. He had entered the war prepared to do something for the cause of the Italian nationality, but he had not foreseen the immense turmoil which the war caused in the peninsula.

Napoleon's reasons for making peace.

To this turmoil we must now give attention, for it introduces us to the first stage in the history of Italian unification. Elated by the defeat of the Austrian foe, Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the Romagna, practically the

Annexations of Sardinia in northern Italy.

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whole of central Italy, drove out their rulers and declared for annexation to Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel, pleased though he was, dared not accept these territories without the consent of Napoleon. Feverish negotiations followed, which ended in an agreement that permitted the annexations in return for the cession to France of Savoy and Nice. Bis-



marck referred to the transaction ironically as Napoleon's *pourboire* (waiter's tip) for services rendered. The payment was resented at the Sardinian court, but against it stood the immense advantage of Lombardy and the central states. Sardinia had in the course of a single year absorbed northern Italy except Venice. This is the first step in the unification of the peninsula.

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The second was the capture the next year (1860) of the south, accomplished by the adventurous expedition of that famous soldier of fortune, Garibaldi. This spirited leader secretly gathered one thousand volunteers about him and set sail for Sicily. They had only to show themselves with the national colors for the Sicilians to toss their hats into the air and abandon the hated Bourbon king. Sicily conquered, Garibaldi sailed across the straits to the mainland, and again the proof was furnished that the Bourbon dynasty had never taken root among the people. The bold invader was acclaimed as a saviour wherever he appeared, and in September entered the city of Naples in triumph. The fugitive king, Francis II., made his last stand at the fortress of Gaeta, to pass at its surrender into life-long exile. His extensive kingdom (Naples and Sicily) declared by popular vote for annexation to Sardinia. The Garibaldians at the same time resolved to round off the previous Italian annexations in the center, and were on the point of seizing the Marches and Umbria, belonging to the States of the Church, when Cavour interposed and occupied them with the Sardinian army. It was only with difficulty that Garibaldi was dissuaded from attempting to seize Rome itself. The second stage of Italian unification had yielded so considerable a harvest that only Venetia and Rome were still outside the national state. As Venetia was held by Austria, and Rome guarded by French troops who had never discontinued their occupation begun in 1849, the attempt to seize either of these provinces meant war with a great power, and for such audacity Victor Emmanuel was not prepared. The progress of the unitarian movement was therefore adjourned to a more auspicious time.

Garibaldi captures Sicily and Naples.

In view of this situation the king and his great councillor, Cavour, resolved to inaugurate a period of rest and recuperation. Technically there existed only a kingdom of Sardinia

Victor Emmanuel is proclaimed king of Italy, 1861.

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with annexations several times the size of the little state, which had championed the national cause. In February, 1861, deputies from all the absorbed sections met at Turin and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel king of Italy. It was a proud and uplifting moment in the history of a brave people. But there was still much work ahead; an administration, finance, army and navy had all to be created, not to mention the necessity of finding a *modus vivendi* with the Pope, who, outraged by his spoliation, had excommunicated the king, Cavour, his rebellious subjects—in fact, everybody connected with the revolution. The new constructive work had hardly been begun when the great Cavour died (June, 1861), and the cloak of the statesman fell upon the shoulders of well-meaning but uninspired politicians.

Victor Emmanuel, conscious that his task was incomplete, continued to look longingly toward Venetia and Rome, but was resolved to bide his time. Two great European crises furnished him the opportunity to realize his hopes. In the year 1866 there broke out the long-threatening war in Germany between Austria and Prussia. Prussia naturally appealed to Italy for help, and the two powers, upon both of whom Austria rested like an incubus, made an alliance. Austria was obliged to face two enemies at once; and although victorious over Italy, defeating her army at Custozza (June 24th) and her navy at Lissa in the Adriatic (July 20th) was so conclusively crushed by Prussia at Sadowa that she had to sign a peace. In the hope of winning French favor, the emperor of Austria had, on receipt of the news of Sadowa, handed over Venetia as a present to Napoleon III., but the French emperor at the conclusion of peace transferred the province to Victor Emmanuel. Venetia was presently incorporated with Italy, and in November the old republic of St. Mark gave the king a stirring and patriotic welcome.

Italy acquires Venetia, 1866.

Rome now alone remained outside the reconstituted na-

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tion. If the question had been submitted to the vote of the Romans whether they wished to be governed by the Pope or by the king, there can be no doubt for whom they would have declared. But French troops held the city for the Pope, and Napoleon made it plain that much as he had done for Italian unity, his complaisance stopped at the walls of the Eternal City. To snatch Rome from the Pope would have precipitated a French war. Again the cautious Victor Emmanuel resolved to be patient and let time work for him. In the year 1870 broke out the famous war between France and Prussia; and although the king of Italy took no hand in it, his country profited from the conflict. Napoleon, hard pressed, withdrew his troops from Rome and shortly after was completely overwhelmed at Sedan. There was now no one to hinder the march upon Rome. In September, 1870, the Italian army appeared before the gates and forced its way into the city amid the plaudits of the citizens. Pius IX., abandoned by the Catholic powers, fulminated anathemas upon his despoilers, but was permitted to retain the Vatican palace and live there unmolested. The Vatican, flanking St. Peter's Church, has since been the Pope's official residence, but the ancient City of the Seven Hills was declared the capital of the Italian state.

Italy acquires Rome, 1870.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

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Prussia under a cloud.

THE many heartrending failures of the year 1848 in Germany had at least made clear that Prussia was the pivot of German politics. The ensuing reaction spread a darkness over the land, but even in this situation it was felt to be a distinct advantage that Prussia had acquired a constitutional government. The unmanly conduct of the ministry during the crisis injured the reputation of the state and reduced its influence to nothing as long as the discredited Frederick William IV. occupied the throne. But, owing to symptoms of insanity, he retired from power in 1858 in favor of his brother William, who definitely became king on the demise of the sovereign in 1861.

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William I. and the reform of the army.

The advent of William I. marks the beginning of a new era in Prussian history. Endowed, in sharp contrast to his romantic brother, with a matter-of-fact mind, he straightway took up an urgent practical reform. Having become convinced that the Prussian army was not what it ought to be, he resolved to make it more effective. He had in this connection no great plans for the future of Germany; he simply undertook the thing which lay immediately at hand. The Prussian army was a creation of the War of Liberation and was based on the principle of a universal three-year service with the colors. It was in the best sense of the word a popular army (*das Volk in Waffen*). In practice, however, many exemptions had been allowed, and the service had been reduced from three to two years. The king, a born soldier, saw that if he applied the system rigorously he would have not only a larger army, but also, owing to the longer drill, a more perfect machine. Plainly, the measure would necessitate a greater expenditure; but as the reform was reasonable and along the line of existing laws, William had no fear of Parliamentary opposition. He was mistaken. The Parliament disliked both the lengthened service and the increased expenditure; and after having voted the reform provisionally, refused definitely, in 1861, to sanction it. As the king, nevertheless, went ahead with the military reorganization, Prussia embarked upon a bitter and prolonged conflict between executive and Parliament, wherein the people for the most part enthusiastically supported their representatives.

Bismarck, prime minister.

Outvoted and discouraged, the king in 1862 called into his cabinet as prime minister the man who was destined not only to break the opposition of the Parliament, but also to bring about the unification of Germany. Otto von Bismarck was a Brandenburg squire of ancient lineage, who in the revolution of 1848 had fearlessly defended the royal pre-

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rogative against the democratic innovators. He had since entered upon a diplomatic career, had served at Frankfort with the Bund, at St. Petersburg and Paris, and had acquired the true vision of the statesman. The programme with which he took power was to maintain the reorganized army at all costs, and use it, as soon as practicable, for the purpose of settling old scores with Austria.

Bismarck's struggle with the Parliament.

When he announced to the members of Parliament, with his habitual self-assurance, that the government had no idea of changing its army policy, a terrific storm was discharged upon his head. Not only the Parliament but the masses became more and more hostile, till the stubborn minister's name became a byword and a reproach. For a few months things went steadily from bad to worse, and the word revolution was already being whispered through the land, when there occurred a succession of events which gradually drew the public attention elsewhither, and ended by brilliantly justifying the king and his unyielding minister.

Schleswig and Holstein break away from Denmark.

In the year 1863 occurred the long-expected death of Frederick VII. of Denmark, the last male of his line. He was succeeded, by virtue of the European agreement known as the Protocol of London, by his relative Christian IX., but the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, never having ratified the agreement, immediately proclaimed the duke of Augustenburg, who was, according to their view, the rightful heir. They coupled with the proclamation of the duke the announcement of their separation from Denmark, in order to unite with Germany. German public opinion, stirred to its depths, heartily supported the project.

Prussia and Austria wage war with Denmark, 1864.

The Bund at Frankfort, anxious to curry popular favor, resolved to interfere in behalf of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, but before it could get well under way Bismarck pushed it aside by persuading Austria to settle the issue conjointly with Prussia. He had no faith in the ability of the Bund to

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do anything effectively, and hence followed his own line of action. Christian IX. immediately upon his accession had signed a bill, passed by the Danish legislature, incorporating Schleswig, that is, the northernmost of the two provinces, with Denmark. This was contrary to the Protocol of London, which recognized Christian as king of Denmark on the understanding that he would respect the autonomy of the duchies. Prussia and Austria demanded that the new law be annulled, failing which they would declare war. When Christian remained obdurate, Prussian and Austrian troops, in January, 1864, entered the duchies side by side, and in a swift campaign brought Denmark to her knees. In August, Christian IX. ceded Schleswig and Holstein to the victors.

Bismarck quarrels with Austria over the division of Schleswig-Holstein.

Now that Prussia and Austria possessed the duchies, the question was how to divide the spoils. Of course the division turned out, as Bismarck had foreseen, a difficult matter. And now the Prussian statesman could take a step toward the fulfilment of his most ardent hopes, which had long been aimed at the expulsion of Austria from Germany. While picking a quarrel with his late ally over the Schleswig-Holstein booty, he steadily prepared for war. Finally, in the spring of 1866, Prussia signed a close alliance with Italy, while Austria, for her part, strove to get the support of the smaller German states. And owing to the fact that Bismarck's policy of violence aroused in Germany a general fear of the Prussian plans, almost all the southern and central states now actually placed themselves under the wings of the older and more conservative German power.

Meaning of the war of 1866.

These dispositions made—Prussia having secured the support of Italy, and Austria the alliance of Saxony, Hanover, and all the South German states—in June, 1866, the two apparently well-matched combatants took the field. The contest was the culmination of the rivalry inaugurated over

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a hundred years ago at the time of Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa; the prize of the winner, the supremacy in Germany.

Disposition of the forces.

Although a part of the Prussian army had to be detached against the German allies of Austria, the Austrians, too, were hindered from complete concentration by the obligation of sending an army to Venetia to defend that province against the Italians. Weakened only by these subtractions, the Austrians and Prussians, massed in two great armies, made ready to meet each other in Bohemia. This meeting, it was evident, would decide the war.

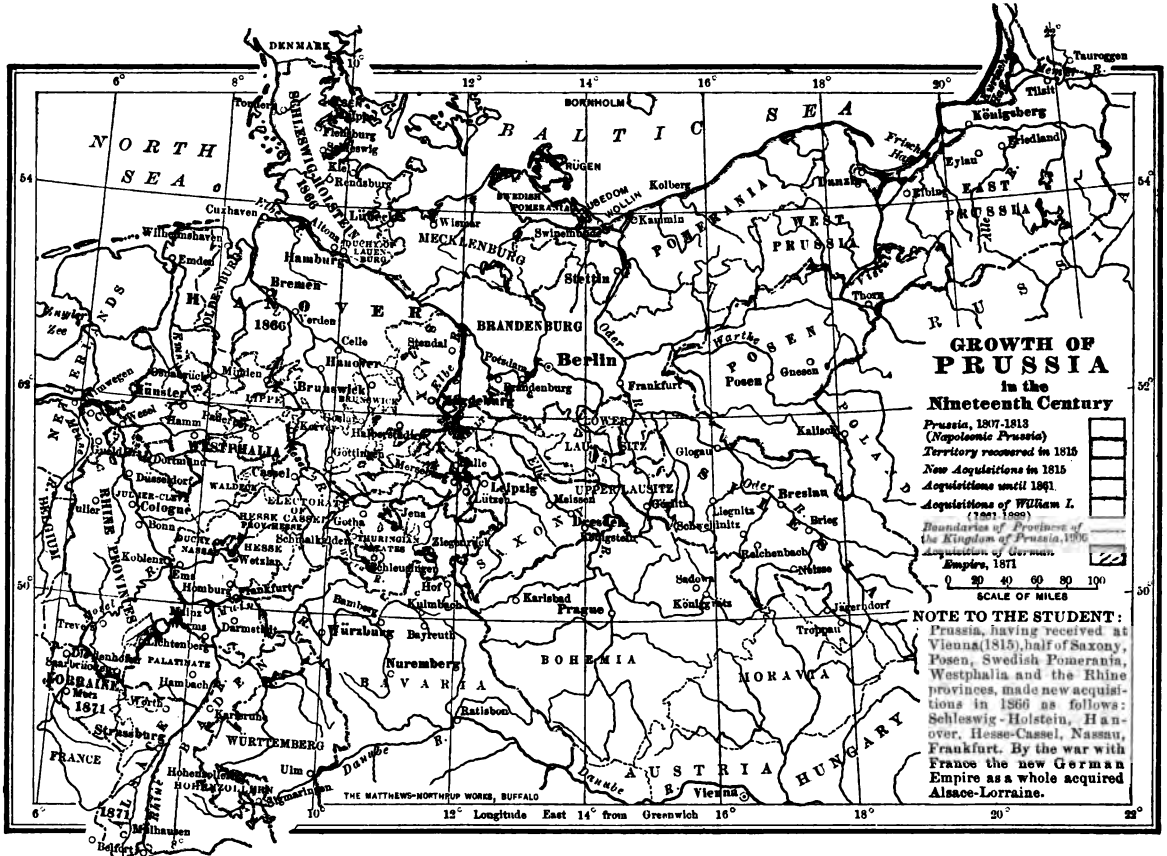
Sadowa or Königgrätz, July 3, 1866.

Now it was seen that King William's plan of a strong and modern army had its merits. The Prussians were ready sooner than the Austrians, and showed themselves to be much better armed and disciplined. By the admirable arrangements of the great strategist Moltke, three Prussian columns were made to converge upon the Austrians, and catching them at Sadowa, in Bohemia, on July 3d, as in a vice, crushed them utterly. The war had hardly begun when it was over. It was of little consequence that the Austrians in Italy defeated the Italians at Custozza, or that the Prussians completed their triumph by defeating the South Germans. Austria was humbled by Prussia, and had to make peace. A truce in July was followed in August, 1866, by the definitive Peace of Prague.

The Peace of Prague and the greatness of Prussia.

By the Peace of Prague Austria withdrew from German affairs, ceded her rights in Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, and left Prussia free to form a confederation of the states of North Germany. The South German states were accorded the right to form a federation of their own. Although Austria made the further sacrifice of Venetia, which was surrendered to Italy, it must be acknowledged that her losses, in view of the immensity of her disaster, were not crushing. As soon as these arrangements were assured, Bismarck made

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peace with the German allies of Austria. He let off Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse, constituting the South German states, with money fines; but certain hostile North German states, like Hanover, Nassau, and Hesse-Cassel, which drove a wedge between the mass of Prussia and her possessions on the Rhine, he incorporated with the monarchy of the Hohenzollerns. The war made Prussia paramount in Germany, but as long as the South German states remained aloof from North Germany, national unity was incomplete. It took another war, the war with France, to crown Bismarck's national policy.

The North German Confederation.

Meanwhile, the Peace left Bismarck free to establish a North German Confederation. In the stress of civil war, the old Bund had, of course, gone to its reward, with no greater outburst of sorrow than had attended the demise of the Holy Roman Empire. For the first time in its history Germany was to have a strong union. The states which joined it accepted the king of Prussia as president, while the legislative power was intrusted to a Federal Council or *Bundesrath*, representing the participating governments, and a Parliament or *Reichstag*, representing the people and elected by universal suffrage. Although the component states preserved their separate organization, they practically lost their sovereign rights, which were exercised by the king of Prussia (as president), the Bundesrath, and the Reichstag. The South German states, free to form a confederation of their own, failed to do so, and occupied a very unsatisfactory position as wandering comets of the German system, until a new crisis drew them into the North German Confederation.

The Mexican muddle.

The crisis, which constitutes the last step in the unification of Germany, was precipitated by the strained relations between the North German Confederation and France. We parted from the Emperor Napoleon on the occasion of his victorious campaign of 1859 in Italy. While contributing

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immensely to the liberation of Italy, he had not failed to collect a small fee for services in the form of Nice and Savoy. The Italian campaign marks the last occasion on which his ventures prospered. Owing to his persistent occupation of Rome with French troops for the purpose of protecting the Pope, he sacrificed the good-will of the Italian nation, won upon the battlefield, and made himself almost as detested as the Austrians. Then in an evil hour he turned his desires upon the New World. He was induced to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico, and proceeding from one measure to another ended by overturning the republic and setting up an empire under the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria. His candidate landed in Mexico in 1864. The great American Civil War was just at its height, and the United States was too embarrassed to do more than register a weak protest against this violation of the Monroe Doctrine; but as soon as the Civil War was over the government at Washington gave Napoleon to understand that he must withdraw immediately. Napoleon shuffled awhile, but did not have the courage to face the consequences. The French sailed for Europe, and Maximilian, deserted by his allies, was captured and shot (1867). Thereupon the Mexicans reëstablished their republic.

France grows jealous of Prussia.

The shame of this disgraceful ending was not the only hapless feature about the Mexican adventure, for, owing to the absence of the best French troops in the New World, Napoleon could exercise no influence on the issue of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Prussia won, established her supremacy in Germany, and refused France any sort of territorial equivalent. Napoleon's position was profoundly shaken. The French people were angry that the opportunity of the embarrassment of the German powers had not been used to realize that cherished dream, the Rhine boundary, and were offended because their eastern neighbor had

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become strong and united. More and more passionately public opinion began to insist that the audacity of Prussia must be checked. Consequently, the relations of the two neighbors became gradually worse. A little incident sufficed to precipitate war.

The Spanish incident.

In the year 1868 a revolution had occurred in Spain by which the Bourbon sovereign, Queen Isabella, was expelled. Ever since, the Spanish leaders had been looking about Europe for a new king, and finally offered the crown to Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a distant relative of the king of Prussia. The prospect of a German prince upon the Spanish throne greatly excited French opinion, and Napoleon hastened to protest. Prince Leopold's wise refusal of the crown quieted alarm, until, in an evil hour, it occurred to the French Government to insist that King William should promise never to permit his relative to become a candidate in the future. On July 13, 1870, the French ambassador made this unnecessary demand while William was taking the waters at Ems. He indignantly refused, scenting in the proposal an effort to humiliate him before the public opinion of Europe; whereupon Napoleon, aroused by the rebuff and moved by various court influences, persuaded the French legislature to declare war (July 19th).

The advantages are with Prussia.

The advantages in the struggle which now ensued were, from the beginning, with Prussia. The first success was achieved in connection with the South German states. Napoleon was hoping that they would, out of aversion for Prussia, side with him, but the far-seeing Bismarck had provided for just such an emergency. Immediately after the war of 1866 he had signed offensive and defensive treaties with the South German states, which obliged them to fight shoulder to shoulder with Prussia. Even without these alliances, however, the South German governments would not

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have remained neutral, for the people were aroused to explosive enthusiasm and insisted on regarding the cause of Prussia as that of all Germany. From a purely military point of view, too, the preliminary honors were all with the German side. Prussia and her allies were ready sooner, and mustered a larger and better-organized army. In consequence, the famous Moltke, who had the campaign in charge, could assume the offensive and invade France.

The early German victories.

The Germans found the French drawn up in two main bodies, one in Alsace under General MacMahon, the other in Lorraine, under Napoleon himself. A simultaneous attack on August 6th was crowned with a double victory, obliging MacMahon to abandon Alsace, and Napoleon to fall back on the great fortress of Metz. The combined German armies thereupon attacked the French around Metz, and by three bloody battles, culminating in the battle of Gravelotte (August 18th), succeeded in blocking the French retreat and bottling up the best French army in the chief fortress of the eastern frontier. Before the situation around Metz had become acute, Napoleon made his escape to the army of MacMahon, which he now tried to bring up, as fast as possible, to the relief of Metz. But he was ruinously defeated at Sedan and obliged to surrender with his whole army (September 2d). After a moving interview with King William he was sent to Germany as a prisoner of war.

The investments of Metz and Paris.

Thus far the campaign had been admirably managed on the part of General Moltke. The war had hardly lasted a month, and already Napoleon, at the head of one of the French armies, had been captured, while the second French army, commanded by Bazaine, was locked up in Metz. Apparently, it remained only to march upon Paris and dictate terms of peace. Accordingly, a German army of 200,000 men proceeded westward, and toward the end of September undertook the investment of the French capital.

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The Third Republic

Meanwhile, important things had happened in the capital. The calamity of Sedan was hardly known when the whole city of Paris rose in indignation against the luckless imperial government. The Empress Eugénie fled in dismay amid scenes of wild disorder, and France was declared a republic (September 4th).[1] At the same time a number of men, the most prominent of whom was Gambetta, set up, for the purpose of effectively prosecuting the war, the Government of the National Defence.

Capitulation of Paris followed by peace.

The siege of Paris marks the last stage of the war. If the Germans entertained the hope of settling things in a few weeks, they were greatly mistaken. Gambetta, supported by the opinion of the country, made a most active and honorable resistance, but his raw levies were no match, in the long run, for the disciplined soldiers of the enemy. The surrender of Bazaine at Metz, on October 27th, withdrew from the war the last veteran army which France boasted, but still the Parisians held out, until forced by hunger they at last, on January 28, 1871, signed a capitulation. The war was over. France had to buy peace from Germany by paying an indemnity of one billion dollars, and by ceding Alsace and a part of Lorraine.[2] In March the Germans began the evacuation of the French territory.

King William becomes German emperor, January 18, 1871.

But it was not the old divided fatherland to which the German soldiers returned. The great victories won by the united efforts of north and south had aroused a boundless enthusiasm. In all circles the feeling prevailed that the present happy military union must take a constitutional form; and, yielding to this sentiment, the South German

[1] The republic of September 4th is known generally as the Third Republic. The First Republic was proclaimed in 1792 and destroyed by Napoleon in 1799; the Second Republic belongs to the period 1848–51; and the Third Republic, of 1870, the most long-lived of all, exists at this day (1906).

[2] The preliminary treaty, signed at Versailles, was in May, 1871, converted into the definitive Peace of Frankfort.

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governments signed agreements with Prussia by which they entered the North German Confederation. It was further stipulated that the Confederation was to be rebaptized the German Empire, and that its president, the king of Prussia, should take the title German emperor. On January 18, 1871, the edifice of German unity was completed and the fact proclaimed to the world from the Hall of Mirrors in Louis XIV.'s sumptuous palace at Versailles. Bismarck, the architect of Germany, was raised to the rank of prince, and became the head of the national cabinet under the name of chancellor.

The Commune.

France, in the month following the treaty with Germany, went through a terrible crisis. The peace had been authorized by an Assembly freely elected by the people and convened at Bordeaux. This body gave Thiers, a man of sound conservative views, the provisional executive authority, but, being largely composed of monarchists, refused to declare for a republic. In March, as soon as peace was assured, the Assembly removed to Versailles in order to be nearer Paris. Meanwhile, the strong republican element of Paris had become very suspicious of the conservative intentions of the Assembly, and presently a group of revolutionists, rising in insurrection, set up what purported to be a thoroughgoing democratic government, called the Commune. They terrorized the middle classes into submission and prepared to resist Thiers and the National Assembly, if necessary, by arms.

Victory of the National Assembly.

The result was a bitter civil war, lasting two months (March–May, 1871). Insurgent Paris was regularly besieged, this time by the national government of France. But the loyalty of the troops decided the issue, and in May the insurgents made their last stand in the heart of the capital. When resistance became useless, a few desperadoes attempted to set fire to Paris and actually succeeded in

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destroying the Tuileries, the City Hall, and a few other historical structures. The exasperated victors knew no mercy. Thousands of men, called communists, but really representing every shade of democratic opinion, were shot without trial, thousands were transported or condemned to imprisonment with hard labor. The National Assembly became the unchallenged government of all France. How would it order the future of the country? The year which gave birth to a strong imperial government in Germany brought defeated and discouraged France to a point where her best friends might despair of her destiny.

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CHAPTER XXIII

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Great Britain at the close of the Napoleonic wars.

AT the beginning of the nineteenth century the government of Great Britain was still legally vested in king, Lords, and Commons, but the really decisive influence had shifted, as we have seen, to the third partner, for the Commons not only voted supplies and made laws, but also controlled the ministry and the administration. The eighteenth century, which had created this Parliamentary government, witnessed also the successful transformation of England into the greatest commercial and colonial power of the world. India and America had been won from France; and though this advantage was in part offset by the revolt of the American colonies,

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the long wars with the French republic and Napoleon had made clear to all eyes that England was without an equal upon the seas. For almost a quarter of a century (1793–1815) the old rivals, France and England, waged a bitter and engrossing strife; and when Napoleon was at last overthrown, England, like the states of the Continent, heaved a sigh of relief. The next years are marked by weariness and reaction. But they are also characterized by signs of a gathering reform movement, which was set on abolishing the accumulated abuses in state and society.

The conservatism of England.

These abuses were so patent and unreasonable that it is not credible that they would have been maintained against popular protest for even a day, if the storms of the French Revolution had not created among the English governing classes a general distrust against innovations of any sort. The maintenance of existing institutions became their creed as it was that of Metternich. Now this prevailing conservatism was championed by the Tory party, which having conducted the government during the war, harvested the prestige associated with its successful termination. The Tory party, therefore, continued in power after the war and, following along established lines, set its teeth so vehemently against reform that Castlereagh, the minister for foreign affairs, even went the length of hitching England to the chariot of the Holy Alliance. But this unnatural condition could not last. A group of young Tories were more amenable to progress; and when in 1822, on the death of Castlereagh, their leader, Canning, assumed the foreign portfolio, England took her first timid steps on the road to improvement. Canning courageously broke with the Holy Alliance. He protected Portugal against an absolutist restoration, joined the United States in recognizing the independence of the South American republics, and helped prepare the liberation of Greece. A new breath of life was carried into domestic

The Canningites.

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affairs too; but Canning died in 1827, before very much had been done in this field.

Religious freedom, 1828–29.

Nevertheless, owing largely to the impulse given by Canning, a series of acts were passed in 1828 and 1829 which are a noble beginning of British reform legislation in the nineteenth century. They affected the status of Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics. The freedom of worship granted to the former in 1689 had been since extended to the latter also, but both groups were, chiefly by the Test Act of 1673, excluded from holding public office. In 1828 the Test Act was repealed, and in consequence the Dissenters were put on an equality with Anglicans and made eligible to all posts in the gift of the state. So abiding, however, was the prejudice against the Roman Catholics that certain regulations excluding them from both Houses of Parliament were kept in force. Under the lash of this injustice a passionate Irishman, Daniel O'Connell, started a campaign which took such an ominous form among his countrymen that the government became alarmed, and passed (1829) the Emancipation Bill, at last flinging wide the doors of Parliament to the Catholic subjects of the crown and restoring them to their full civil rights.

The need of Parliamentary reform.

Hardly had these measures of religious toleration been carried when an agitation was started in favor of the reform of Parliament itself. The House of Commons, indeed, invited severe criticism. It was of feudal origin, and showed its derivation in that it represented not the nation, but certain privileged bodies. These were of two kinds, the counties and the boroughs. The *counties* elected 186 members on an ungenerous franchise system, but were hardly open to criticism compared with the boroughs, which were a perfect sink of corruption. The *boroughs* elected 467 members by methods so various as to defy description. Suffice it that borough members were ordinarily elected by the

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town corporations; that is, by privileged bodies, composed in some cases of no more than a handful of individuals. In one class of boroughs a rich man, usually a nobleman, had acquired the right of naming the two members of the borough. They represented in Parliament nothing but himself. Such a borough was derisively called a pocket-borough, and the whole system, as is plain without additional details, was rotten to the core. However, as a further feature, filling the cup of injustice to the brim, we may note an antiquated system of distribution of seats. The change in the conditions of population produced by the development of manufactures in the north of England was disregarded, and not only did Leeds, Birmingham, and other important new towns remain unrepresented, but the whole kingdom of Scotland had no more than 45 members against the 44 of the backward county of Cornwall.

The Reform Act of 1832.

The Whig party, which championed the reform of Parliament, soon won such favor that it was able to put an end to the long Tory rule. In 1830 the duke of Wellington, who had become the head of the Tories and prime minister soon after the death of Canning, was obliged to resign because he declared himself satisfied with Parliamentary representation as it was, and in the general elections of 1831, the Whigs for the first time in half a century carried a majority of seats. Their leader, Earl Grey, now brought forward a Reform Bill which, after meeting with violent opposition in the House of Lords, was at last (1832) accepted by both houses. The new law achieved two results: (1) By suppression of the rotten boroughs 143 seats were set free for distribution among the towns and counties which were not sufficiently represented; and (2) by a more uniform and more liberal electoral franchise[1] 200,000 additional subjects were conceded the

[1] In the counties, copyholders and leaseholders of lands worth £10 a year were admitted to vote; also tenants-at-will of lands worth £50. In the boroughs, householders (whether as owners or tenants) of houses worth £10 a year were given the same privilege.

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right to vote. Although this was not pure democracy, with its corollary of universal suffrage, the House of Commons was henceforth far more representative of the nation, and better prepared in consequence to consider measures demanded by the public welfare.

Emergence of the workingman as a political factor.

The Reform Act of 1832 marks the beginning of the legislation by which aristocratic England was gradually democratized. The Whigs, reorganized as the Liberal party, undertook, with proper safeguards against precipitancy, to favor this process; while the Tories, known henceforth as Conservatives, continued, in the main, to oppose change, but wisely accepted every reform as soon as it had become law. Both parties continued to represent largely the ancient aristocracy of the soil and the newer aristocracy of wealth. But the Liberals showed the effect of modern thought by attempting to secure contact with the masses. And that brings us to a matter of the greatest possible importance. Through the discoveries of science and the development of machinery, English industry had been tremendously stimulated. The presence of coal and iron in the northern and western counties had occasioned the almost magical growth of new towns composed largely of laborers, who, for the present, had few rights and were mercilessly exploited by the great manufacturers. With the steady growth of their numbers they would inevitably develop a sense of power, sure to take the form of a regular programme of political and economic rights. The wild agitation known as the Chartist movement, the first invasion into politics of the new industrial class, apprised the governing group that the workingmen must henceforth be reckoned with. The Chartist movement (1837–48), so called from the popular petition proclaimed as the People's Charter, aimed chiefly at universal suffrage; and although it failed at the first onset to attain its object, it taught the masses to organize and rally around the new ideal of democratic justice.

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Repeal of the Corn Laws.

The steady pressure of an increasingly enlightened press and public accounts for the succeeding reforms. Let us first look at the measures adopted in connection with trade. England had thus far discouraged importation by a protective system, the chief feature of which was a high duty upon corn or grain. The people who profited by this policy were the great landholders, while the measure weighed heavily upon the workingmen, who had to pay an inordinately high price for bread. Two intelligent employers of labor, Richard Cobden and John Bright, undertook a campaign to instruct public opinion, and in 1846 had the satisfaction of convincing the ministry and Parliament of the wisdom of repealing the Corn Laws. With agricultural products made free, there seemed no good reason for maintaining the tariff upon manufactured articles. England adopted the policy of free trade, to which, in spite of sporadic opposition, she has been steadily loyal for over half a century. The missing revenue, without which the state could not live, was replaced by an income tax.

Free trade.

Democratization of Parliament by the Acts of 1867 and 1884.

The continued agitation in favor of a wider suffrage led, in the course of the century, to two acts supplementary to the reform of 1832. In 1867 the Conservative ministry of Disraeli succeeded in getting a measure passed, the chief feature of which was the lowering of the property qualification for the franchise; and in 1884 the Liberal ministry of Gladstone carried a bill admitting still further classes to the right to vote, and remedying some inequalities of representation. The English electoral system still shows some anomalies, and the very poor, the have-nothings, cannot exercise the franchise, but the right to vote is now so generally extended that the House of Commons is fairly representative of English public opinion, and constitutes almost, if not quite, a democratic body in the fullest sense of the term.

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Other reforms.

A great many other nineteenth century reforms, covering almost the whole field of social organization, can be done but scant justice here. By an extensive factory legislation Parliament has attempted to protect children, women, and, finally, the workingmen themselves, against the ruthless exploitation of the employers. A series of administrative bills has gradually taken the local government out of the hands of the aristocracy and given it to councils elected by the people. At the same time the whole civil service has been committed to a paid body of officials with permanent tenure, in consequence of which a change of ministry in our day affects only the heads of departments and can no longer shake the public order.

Ireland.

The most important domestic question of the century remains to be considered: its name is Ireland. With the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 a beginning had been made toward redressing the heaped-up wrongs of centuries. But the English prejudice against the Irish was strong and persistent. O'Connell, the Irish leader, inclined to the view that the British Parliament would never do justice to his country, and presently began to agitate for the repeal of the Act of Union (1801) by which Ireland had lost its legislative independence. This may fairly be called the beginning of the Home Rule movement. With such a policy no English party would sympathize; but when in 1845 the Irish potato-crop failed and a terrible famine ensued, Parliament felt obliged to do something to alleviate the inhuman conditions upon the lesser island. Thus a turning-point was reached, and a policy of legislative enactments inaugurated which gives proof of an honorable desire to remove some of the most crying grievances. In 1869 the Anglican Church, which since the days of Elizabeth had been also the national Church of Ireland, was disestablished. Although the Church of an alien people, it was possessed not only of millions of

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pounds worth of buildings and lands, but also drew part of its revenues, in the form of tithes, from the Irish Catholics. Now only did Ireland achieve real religious equality. The ministry which disestablished the Episcopal Church was presided over by the Liberal leader, Gladstone. With an appetite whetted by success, Gladstone now ventured to attack the far more complicated land question. The soil of Ireland was generally owned by English absentee landlords and cultivated by Irish tenants for a payment of rent. The law, having been made by the conqueror, was very unfair to the peasants, who lived in revolting squalor, at the mercy of their masters. A series of Land Acts, passed, some by the Liberals and some by the Conservatives, and inspired by the idea of affording protection against landlord cruelties, has culminated in the creation of a state fund from which the peasant may borrow money on easy terms for the purchase of his farm. Doubtless, the moral and economic conditions of the island have much improved, but one matter remains where it was: the Irish persistently demand Home Rule; that is, they desire a law authorizing them to govern themselves in all matters strictly local. Gladstone finally incorporated this demand in his Liberal programme; but although on one occasion (1892) a Home Rule Bill passed the Commons, the Lords promptly rejected it, and Gladstone let the issue drop. Ireland and her Parliamentary representatives still bend all their energies upon this supreme demand.

The Irish land question.

Home Rule.

Let us turn our glance from these domestic affairs to the wonderful expansion of the British Empire over all known lands and seas. The colonial leadership won in the eighteenth century has been confirmed by a thousand bonds of commerce and civilization. The vast lands over which waves the British flag fall into two main groups. Regions like Canada, Australia, and South Africa, which have been settled largely from Britain, are granted a very substantial

The expansion of England.

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self-government, while provinces like India or the colonies of Central Africa, where natives predominate, are made directly dependent on the central government, which secures its hold by a British administration and a British army of occupation. These latter, in distinction from the self-governing colonies, are called crown colonies. During the last generation much enthusiasm has been aroused in connection with a movement which purposes to bind the self-governing colonies more closely to the mother country by allowing them to send representatives to a central British Parliament. The movement is known as Imperial Federation, but though toasted on all patriotic occasions, has thus far been unable to surmount the practical difficulties in the way.

Imperial Federation.

Naturally, these world-wide colonial interests have brought many cares and not infrequently have led to colonial wars. The most important take us to India and South Africa. In 1857 the Sepoys, who are the native soldiery of India, commanded by English officers, mutinied, and before they could be put down the cruel deeds of the natives had almost been outdone by the victors. Thereupon Parliament was aroused to revise the whole relations of the home country to its colony. The charter of the East India Company, a private association of merchants, in whose hands the administration of the great dependency had rested since its conquest, was revoked (1858), and the control, including the management of army, navy, justice, and administration, was transferred to the crown and its officials.

The Indian mutiny, 1857.

The South African troubles had their origin in the existence in the midst of British territory of two small republics, the Transvaal and Orange Free State, inhabited by Dutch immigrants, called Boers. The Boers naturally enough desired to preserve their independence, while the British were anxious to bring them within the pale of their influence. Quarrels followed, attended by rash and unjust acts on both

Conquest of the two Boer republics.

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sides, with the unhappy issue of a fierce and prolonged war (1899–1902). The small Boer forces, after heroic resistance under skilful leaders, were at last scattered and broken, and the two states annexed by the British crown.

British foreign policy.

The British foreign policy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been determined by the circumstance that England is the greatest commercial and colonial power in the world. Although with her splendid start and untiring energy she has left every other European state far behind, she is quick to take alarm at the rise of a possible rival. Owing largely to the struggles of the past, she was inclined, during the decades immediately following the fall of Napoleon, to keep a sharp lookout toward France; but on discovering that France was occupied with other matters, she presently turned her attention to Russia. The great Slav power was pushing her interests chiefly in the direction of Constantinople and central and eastern Asia. This action England tried to check with varying success, going so far on one occasion as to declare war. When in 1853 the Czar's forces invaded Turkey, England made an alliance with Napoleon III. and hurried troops to the Black Sea. The ensuing campaign is known as the Crimean War. The capture of Sebastopol inclined Russia to ask for peace, the terms of which were drawn up at Paris (1856). Although the advantages attained by France and Great Britain were not very striking, the main end of the war, the preservation of the Ottoman empire, was unquestionably secured. Once again, in 1878, when Russia, in another war with Turkey, was about to crush the Sultan, Britain interfered and saved the Mohammedan state (Congress of Berlin, 1878).

War with Russia, 1854–56.

Great Britain and Russia in Asia.

While these conflicts illustrate the rivalry between Great Britain and Russia at Constantinople, their competition has been no less keen in Asia. Diplomatic incidents, more or less grave, have been frequent. A welcome event from the

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British point of view was the recent rise of Japan. England immediately supported this Oriental power, which, driven to desperation by persistent Russian encroachments, was at length, in 1904, emboldened to declare war. Japan's great victories on land and sea enabled her to acquire a paramount position in Korea and in the Yellow Sea. These advantages were secured by the treaty of peace signed at Portsmouth (U. S.) in August, 1905. Even before the war was concluded riots had taken place in Russia, which have since culminated in a great revolutionary movement. For the present the Russian Government is occupied with domestic affairs, and can exercise no pressure upon English interests either in Asia or elsewhere. Plainly the turmoil in Russia redounds to the decided advantage of Britain. By the eliminating process of time one after another of England's potential rivals in world empire have been stricken from the list, until in the year in which this chapter is written (1906) there remains only Germany. This vigorous and youthful empire has lately girded its loins to share in the partition of the world, with the result that English public opinion has transferred its wakeful jealousy from St. Petersburg to Berlin. The foreign policy of Great Britain is for the moment guided chiefly with reference to the growth and expansion of Germany.

The sovereign reigns but does not govern.

The predominance of Parliament, achieved in the seventeenth century, has not been questioned by the later sovereigns, who have rested content with their honorary headship of the nation and the indefinable political influence commanded by it. The long reign (1837–1901) of Queen Victoria, a conspicuous lover of peace, came to an end amidst universal signs of sorrow. She was succeeded by Edward VII., her oldest son by her marriage with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg.

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CHAPTER XXIV

RUSSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY; THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE BALKAN QUESTION

REFERENCES: FYFFE, Modern Europe (*passim;* see Index); PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 491–523; SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1815, Chapters XIX.–XXI.; ANDREWS, Modern Europe, Vol. II., Chapter XIII.; RAMBAUD, History of Russia, Vol. III.; KENNAN, Siberia and the Exile System; MILYOUKOV, Russia and Its Crisis (a searching analysis of present Russian conditions); KOVALEVSKY, Russian Political Institutions.

Czar Alexander and Poland.

THE part which Russia played in the overthrow of Napoleon made Czar Alexander I. a conspicuous figure in Europe after 1815. The Congress of Vienna confirmed him in the possession of Poland, which he ruled as king, on the basis of a granted constitution, as long as he lived. We have seen how under his successor, Nicholas I., the Poles revolted (1830) and had to pay for their audacity with the loss of their constitution and their independence.

Russia, a heterogeneous state.

The Poles, however, were not the only foreign people united with Russia under the sceptre of the Czar. The grand-duchy of Finland was inhabited by Finns intersprinkled with Swedes, while in the Baltic provinces were settled Letts and Esths, who tilled the soil for an upper crust of German landlords. Finland and the Baltic provinces, Russian only in name, had preserved a measure of provincial self-government. That was not the case with the various Slav tribes—White Russians in the west, Little Russians in

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the south—who had been incorporated with Russia by conquest and were held under autocratic rule. Russia, even if we limit our statement to Russia in Europe, was therefore not a homogeneous nation, but consisted of a Russian core, surrounded, especially along its western border, by conquered peoples in various stages of dependence.

The emancipation of the serfs.

The people of the great Russian state were so backward in civilization that their domestic history in the nineteenth century can be rapidly told. Having no share in the government, they hung upon the initiative of the Czar, who, if progressive, might do something to improve conditions; if reactionary, thought only of preserving his power. Alexander I. (1801–25), after disappointing many hopes, was followed by his brother, Nicholas I. (1825–55), of whose despotic disposition we have had a glimpse in the Polish revolution of 1830. He stood for conservatism, and ruled his country with a rod of iron. But he was followed by a man of a different temper, his humane son, Alexander II. (1855–81), who was persuaded that reforms were inevitable. His greatest service to his country was the emancipation of the peasants. By the decree of 1861 the peasants, who were serfs and numbered many millions, constituting between eighty and ninety per cent of the population, were declared free, and provision was made by which they could become proprietors of small farms. As the peasant communities were also given the right to govern themselves, the masses were for the first time raised to the full dignity of manhood, and Russian society was gradually transformed and modernized. Alexander was now urged to grant a constitution, but could not be persuaded to make this supreme concession.

The expansion of Russia.

Apart from the emancipation of the serfs, and certain administrative and judicial reforms by which Russia was assimilated to European methods, the history of the state

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under the nineteenth century czars is a record of territorial expansion. This expansion took two directions: (1) Toward the Bosporus, where it came in conflict with Turkey; and (2) toward Asia, where it was opposed mainly by England. The movement of Russia toward Turkey obliges us to examine the Ottoman empire.

The peoples of the Balkan peninsula.

The Turks, after establishing their rule in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, had in the fifteenth century conquered the Balkan peninsula and set up their capital at Constantinople. The territory around the capital had been settled by Turks, but the other provinces remained in the hands of the various peoples who had occupied them in the Middle Ages. The most important, together with their geographical positions, were the following: (1) Greeks in the Grecian peninsula, in the islands of the Ægean Sea, and along the Thracian coast; (2) Roumanians north of the lower Danube; (3) Serbs south of the Danube, between that river and the Adriatic Sea; (4) Bulgarians on either side of the Balkan Mountains; (5) Albanians on the Adriatic coast. Of these tribes all were Slavs[1] except the Greeks and the Roumanians, and all were Christians, belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church, except the Albanians, who to a large extent had gone over to the religion of their Mohammedan conquerors.

The government of the Sultan.

The government of the Turks was a typical Oriental despotism. The Sultan at Constantinople, kept in ludicrous ignorance of the affairs of his realm, was content if his subordinates forwarded the tribute necessary to support his harem, while the real power lay in the hands of the pashas, who stood at the head of the provinces and plundered the poor inhabitants at discretion. The Christians, whom centuries of oppression had reduced

[1] The Roumanians, although they speak a language akin to Italian, and hold that they are, as their name suggests, descended from Roman colonists, are probably largely a Slav stock which has been Latinized. The Albanians, roughly classified as Slavs above, are a people of uncertain origin, with a strong Slav admixture. The racial situation on the Balkans is incredibly confused.

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to the level of brutes, were deprived of every human right except the exercise of their religion. Turkey in Europe, closely considered, was nothing more than a victorious band of warriors encamped among enslaved Christian peoples, who might presently arouse themselves and cast their tyrants off. And the awakening came. It came in the nineteenth century, seized people after people, and created what is called the Balkan or the eastern question. But no sooner were the Sultan's Christian subjects in revolt than the European powers felt urged to declare their interest in the fact. They interfered and protected the small nations against the Sultan's wrath. Revolt, accompanied by European intervention, is the history of Turkey in the nineteenth century.

The first step toward Balkan freedom.

The beginning was made, as we have already seen, by Greece. The Greeks, after a spirited resistance, were about to be crushed when the powers interfered, fought the battle of Navarino (1827), and secured Greek independence. Out of the confusion developed a war between Russia and Turkey, in which Russia was victorious (Peace of Adrianople, 1829), and secured a paramount position at Constantinople. This war closed the first phase in the crumbling process of the Ottoman empire. Greece was now an independent kingdom,[1] while the Sultan withdrew from the direct government of Servia and the two Roumanian provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, putting their administration in the hands of native princes.

New crises.

The next great event in Turkish history was the revolt of the cunning and powerful pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, against his suzerain at Constantinople. This was a conflict among Mohammedan believers. Mehemet defeated the Sultan in two great wars, fought between 1833 and 1840,

[1] The first king of Greece was Otto of Bavaria, who, after ruling autocratically for a period, granted (1843) a constitution. Twenty years later he was deposed by a revolution, and was succeeded (1863) by a prince of the House of Denmark. This prince, King George I., still rules in Greece.

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and might have driven him from the Bosporus if the powers had not become alarmed and forced the pasha to release his prey. The incident showed the helpless decay of Turkey. Czar Nicholas, encouraged by this situation to plan for the peaceful partition of the realm, spoke on repeated occasions of "the sick man" and his approaching funeral; but when he found the other powers, especially England, determined to support the Sultan, he decided on a policy of active aggression. The result was the Crimean War (1853–55), which is particularly interesting in showing the radical disagreement of the European powers with regard to Turkey. The Russian aim of conquering and partitioning Turkey was opposed by England, which feared that the growth of the Russian power in the Mediterranean would threaten her position in India. England managed to communicate her alarm to France, with the result that the two western powers defended Turkey, defeated the Czar (Sebastopol, 1855), and in the Peace of Paris (1856) guaranteed the integrity of the Ottoman empire. But all the tinkering of Turkey's friends could do no more than delay disruption. There were troubles in Crete, Syria, in short, wherever Christians came in contact with Mohammedans. Every year brought some new loss or disgrace to the Commander of the Faithful. Thus, when in 1859 the two provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, self-governing since 1829, united under the name of Roumania, the Sultan had to give a belated consent; and when in 1866 a representative assembly elected Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (related to the reigning House of Prussia) hereditary prince, the successor of Mohammed was not even consulted. Such was the precarious situation in Turkey, when a revolt among the Serbs of Herzegovina led to another violent crisis. The Herzegovinians rose in 1875 against the Turkish tax-gatherers, who plundered them with systematic and brutal cruelty,

The Crimean War.

Creation of Roumania.

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and were presently aided by their brethren of the province of Servia. A wave of excitement swept over the eastern world.

The war of 1877.

The Russians, themselves Slav and Orthodox, were greatly agitated, and Alexander II., in spite of his love of peace, was moved to take the field (1877). Thus was initiated the third war waged, since the Congress of Vienna, between Russia and Turkey.

Victory of Russia.

In this war England did not actively support Turkey, while the small Slav tribes of the Balkan peninsula, as far as they were free to act, gladly joined with Russia. The fate of the campaign hinged upon the siege of Plevna. This fortress was fiercely and skilfully defended by Osman Pasha; but on the failure of provisions he and his army were obliged to surrender (December 10, 1877). Nothing now arrested the victorious Russians. They crossed the Balkans and would have floated their banners from the minarets of Constantinople if the Sultan had not sued for peace. In March, 1878, were signed the articles of San Stefano by which the Turk lost all his European possessions except Albania and the territory around Constantinople. England, gravely alarmed over this increase of Russian influence, assumed a warlike tone and refused to be placated until the Czar agreed to have the treaty of San Stefano revised in a general meeting of the European powers.

The Congress of Berlin, 1878.

The Congress of Berlin, held in June, 1878, marks a new epoch in the history of Turkey. Although the congress could not undo the defeat of the Sultan, it could and did, under the leadership of England, reduce the advantages of Russia. The principle upon which the anti-Russian faction acted was to secure the independence of the Christian peoples of the Balkans under the guarantee, not of Russia, but of all the European powers. The congress finally agreed upon the following measures: (1) Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were declared free and sovereign. Prince

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Charles of Roumania presently became King Charles I., while the native prince of Servia, Milan Obrenovitch, became King Milan I. Montenegro, a tiny principality of Serbs, located in the almost inaccessible mountains which skirt the Adriatic, had really never been subdued by the Ottoman empire, and was now formally declared independent under its native prince Nikita. (2) A number of other provinces were practically but not theoretically detached from the Turkish empire. Austria was asked to occupy Herzegovina and Bosnia, but as no limit of time was fixed, the occupation has acquired a look of permanence. Bulgaria was divided into two sections. The region between the Danube and the Balkans was declared a self-governing principality owing allegiance to the Sultan, while the section south of the Balkans, officially called East Roumelia, was left under the military authority of the Turks. (3) Russia received an increase of territory in Asia Minor. This was hardly an adequate reward for her exertions and her victory, and created an indignation in Russia against the settlement of Berlin which has survived to this day.

The growth of the small Balkan states.

It remains to inquire into the success of the Berlin policy and the development of the new Balkan states. With due allowance for the difficulties of the situation, the statement may be ventured that the young governments have prospered. The only regulation which proved untenable was the division of Bulgaria. In 1885 the southern section—East Roumelia—revolted and applied for union with the northern province. When the ruler of Bulgaria, Prince Alexander of Battenberg, who had been lately elected to the throne, yielded to the popular pressure and accepted the union of north and south, Servia, angry at the increase of her neighbor, declared war. The incident introduces us to a new and important feature in the Balkan situation. The young Christian states regard one another with the most in-

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tense jealousy, each one hoping, in the event of the further dissolution of the Ottoman empire, to secure the lion's share. The war of 1885 supplies the comment to this statement. Servia was roundly beaten, and owed her preservation to the interference of Austria. But Prince Alexander did not long enjoy his triumphs. He had given umbrage to Czar Alexander III., who in 1886 compassed his downfall. The Bulgarians, indignant over this interference with their affairs, now cut loose from the Czar's apron-strings, and elected as their prince Ferdinand of Coburg, an officer in the Austrian army. Ferdinand has achieved a remarkable success, having held the power for almost twenty years, and being in a fair way to perpetuate his dynasty.

Present storm-centres of the Turkish empire.

The troubles of the diminished Turkish empire have not ceased, owing chiefly to the fact that the Christians remaining under the Mohammedan yoke continue to ask for relief. The chief centres of disturbance of late have been (1) Crete, (2) Armenia, and (3) Macedonia. (1) The endless revolutions in Crete, an island inhabited by Greeks, kept the people of the kingdom of Greece in sympathetic excitement, and led in 1897 to a declaration of war against Turkey. The small power proved no match for Turkey, which quickly defeated it; however, Europe interfered, and not only saved Greece from spoliation, but also made Crete self-governing under a Greek prince. The Cretans, in spite of their virtual independence, continue to demand union with Greece, and the probability is great that their wish sooner or later will be realized. (2) The Armenians, Christians of Asia Minor, are desirous of achieving their independence, but the agitation among them is carefully watched by the Turks and from time to time repressed by a terrible massacre. The outrages committed by Turk upon Armenian, and *vice versa*, have aroused the indignation of Europe; but no cure has thus far been found for the evil. (3) The same may be said for

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the troubles in Macedonia. This province—the last Christian possession of the Sultan in Europe—has been in a state of increasing ferment; but a solution is rendered difficult, owing to fierce race jealousy. Macedonia is inhabited by Bulgarians, Serbs, and Greeks, who are quite as ready to butcher one another as to fight the common enemy, the Turk.

The British occupy Egypt.

These various events, all pointing to the eventual dissolution of Turkey, do not complete the tale of the Sultan's misery. In 1882 England occupied Egypt with an army, and although the pasha—ruling under the title of khedive—has not been deposed and the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan is still acknowledged, Egypt may be counted a British province. Nobody will venture to say how all these various issues will be settled; but the assertion is not over-bold that the end of Turkey, corrupt, backward, incapable of reform, has been decreed by the fates.

The Russian advance in Asia.

The establishment of numerous small independent states upon the ruins of Turkey in Europe tended to put a check upon the Russian march to Constantinople. In consequence, the Czars began to take up with increased vigor their plan of conquest in Asia. In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they had acquired Siberia, embracing the whole north of that great continent; and in the nineteenth century they have striven to reach a warm port, with open water all the year round, upon the Pacific and Indian oceans. Although their progress has been steadily opposed by England, which was seized with alarm for its Indian empire, the Russian advance met with continued success, until it was challenged by Japan. A glance at the map will show that Russia would attempt to reach the ocean in the region of the Persian Gulf and the Sea of China. When England let it be understood that she would fight before she would permit her rival to get a lodgment in the waters west of India,

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the energy of Russian expansion was unloaded upon weak and unresisting China. The Czar acquired control of a considerable slice of Chinese territory (Port Arthur, Manchuria), causing such consternation in the neighboring empire of Japan that the Mikado, after many futile remonstrances, declared war. The conflict (1904–5) showed the decisive superiority of the Japanese upon land and water. At the Peace of Portsmouth (August, 1905) Russia was obliged to withdraw from her advanced positions, and Port Arthur, southern Manchuria, and Korea fell under the influence of Japan. The forward movement of Russia in Asia seems to be blocked for many a day.

The war with Japan.

Domestic troubles of Russia.

However, the present acute paralysis of Russia is due not so much to her defeat by Japan, as to the domestic revolution which broke out during the war. To understand this important movement we must turn back once more to the reign of the kindly Alexander II. Although the Czar had liberated the serfs in 1861, he disappointed many of his people by refusing to grant a constitution. The Poles had even persuaded themselves that he was going to grant them not only a constitution, but their independence; and on awakening from their illusion, they rose in rebellion (1863). Of course they were crushed, as in 1831, but the movement served as an announcement to the world that their national sentiment was still alive. Once again the Poles were ground under the iron heel of the Czar, their very language being banished from the schools, the court-room, and even from public sign-boards.

The Polish rebellion of 1863.

The educated movement for a constitution.

In Russia proper the liberal discontent with the continued maintenance of the autocratic system took a different form. The radicals, more and more enraged at the Czar and his bureaucracy, adopted the anarchistic views spread by certain revolutionists in western Europe, and under the name of nihilists sought the destruction by any and every means

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of the detested government. Attacks upon prominent officials with pistol and bomb became frequent, culminating in 1881 in the assassination of the once popular Alexander II. He was succeeded by his son, Alexander III. (1881–94), who stubbornly maintained his absolute power and met the plots of his opponents by wholesale banishments to the lonely and noisome prisons of ice-bound Siberia. By the time Nicholas II. succeeded (1894) his father, the liberal propaganda had begun to assume another shape. Although a band of radicals continued to terrorize society with bombs and assassination, the middle classes and the workingmen of the cities—the latter largely organized as socialists—came to believe their cause would triumph by more peaceful means. Their chance came during the war with Japan. The defeats suffered by the Russian government encouraged criticism, which the authorities tried to appease by concessions. Finally, in October, 1905, the Czar went the length of proclaiming a constitution, embodying a limited number of popular concessions. But it was too late. The accumulated excitement burst in riots and rebellions, the end of which no one can foretell. In May, 1906, a popular Assembly, called Duma, was convened, but the Czar dissolved it in July before it had effected any changes. Nicholas II. stands at present at the parting of the ways, apparently undecided whether he shall follow the liberal path or that of the traditional absolutism. While the situation is frightfully involved, it does not, however, seem too much to say that the old autocracy can never be restored, and that a new era has dawned in Russia.

The present revolution.

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CHAPTER XXV

CENTRAL EUROPE SINCE THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY AND GERMANY

REFERENCES: SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter VII.; Chapter XI., pp. 361–72; Chapters XVI., XVII.; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, Chapter XX.; ANDREWS, Modern Europe, Vol. II., Chapters IX.–XII.; LOWELL, Governments and Parties in Continental Europe; STILLMAN, Union of Italy; KING and OKEY, Italy Today; WHITMAN, Imperial Germany; WHITMAN, Austria.

Italy.

The building up of modern Italy.

ITALY had no sooner achieved her unity under King Victor Emmanuel than she became seriously occupied with pressing domestic affairs. Everything in the disturbed and backward peninsula had to be done from the beginning. Accordingly the new government created a centralized administration, devised a judicial and an educational system, and called an army and a navy into being. This upbuilding of the state in accordance with modern demands cost unfortunately a great deal of money and obliged the government to impose numerous and burdensome taxes. Even so, the expenditure habitually exceeded the revenues, creating a financial problem with which ministry after ministry wrestled in vain for several decades. It was not till the end of the century that the situation was relieved and the deficit mastered.

Unsatisfactory economic situation, especially in the south.

In every country the financial problem is closely associated with the general economic situation. To understand the domestic affairs of Italy one must begin with the fact that the country, though perhaps the most beautiful under

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the sun, is poor. It has few mineral resources, above all, no coal and iron, and is largely dependent on agriculture. Furthermore, although the farming methods of the north, where there is an intelligent and active peasantry, are rapidly improving, the south lags far behind and is disturbed by an almost permanent agricultural crisis. The trouble in the southern parts is due to the fact that the land is owned by great proprietors, while the work is done by hired laborers, ground down by centuries of tyranny. The misery of this section, increased by excessive taxation, has led, on the one hand, to emigration on an immense scale to North and South America, and, on the other, to bread riots and political discontent. The result has been the growth of the republican and socialist parties, not only in the south, it is true, but also among the workingmen of the northern cities; and although the monarchy still enjoys the favor of the vast majority, it finds itself obliged to make constant concessions to the strong radical parties of the Parliament. The main task before the government at the opening of the twentieth century is to find relief for the growing wretchedness and discontent of the millions of southern tillers of the soil and for the thousands of workingmen in the industrial centres of the north.

Latent war between Church and state.

A grave problem has always been the relation of Church and state. The Pope has declared himself irreconcilable, and since the capture of Rome in 1870 has chosen to live as a prisoner in the Vatican palace. The law of the Italian Parliament (Laws of the Guarantees, 1870–1), by which he was assured the honors and immunities of a sovereign, the possession of the Vatican and Lateran palaces, and a considerable income, has never been acknowledged by him, and the Italian state has been steadily ignored and denounced. Naturally, the government has responded to this set hostility with repressive legislation. The rich possessions

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of the Church have been secularized and sold and the clergy compensated with meagre salaries, paid out of the national treasury. When and how the Pope and king are to be reconciled and the latent war between them brought to a close, no one can foretell.

Italy allies herself with Germany.

A word about Italian foreign affairs. Italy, from her position, is interested, above all, in the Mediterranean; and when in 1881 France seized Tunis, she became alarmed and resolved to insure herself against further French progress in Africa by cultivating the friendship of Germany. Negotiations with Germany, a power already closely bound to Austria, led to the formation in 1883 of the Triple Alliance. The Triple Alliance is defensive in character, and after an existence of over twenty years may be declared to have been true to its avowed purpose of maintaining the peace. Encouraged by the support of the central powers, Italy presently entered upon a colonial policy in Africa, in the neighborhood of the Red Sea, with the usual consequence of becoming engaged in distant wars, coupled with several serious disasters (defeat at Adowa by the Abyssinians, 1896). In spite of the enumerated difficulties—the colonial failures, the excessive taxation, the agricultural misery of the south, the growth of socialism in the cities—every Italian may take a legitimate pride in the evident signs of a growing unity, order, and prosperity.

Colonial ventures and disasters.

France.

The republic is established.

We have seen how the disastrous war of France with Germany (1870–71) gave birth to a new republican government (the Third Republic), upon which fell not only the burden of making peace with the victorious foe, but also of putting down the savage rising of the Parisian communists. The elections of February, 1871, held under the depressing in-

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fluence of defeat, had returned an Assembly with a strong monarchical majority. As soon as peace had been made with the new German Empire and the communists had been overthrown, the Assembly took up the problem of organizing a new government. If the monarchical majority could have immediately united upon a candidate for the throne, they might have restored the monarchy without delay; but the party of the legitimists wished to call back the older branch of the House of Bourbon, the party of the Orleanists planned to restore the grandson of Louis Philippe, and the party of the imperialists supported the son of Napoleon III. Not till 1873 did the legitimists and Orleanists agree by recognizing the heir of Charles X., who, born in 1823, was now fifty years old, and was known as the count of Chambord. But the count of Chambord, stubbornly refusing to recognize the tricolor flag (red, blue, white) as the emblem of France, insisted upon the white banner of the Bourbons, and upon this rock the whole restoration foundered. New elections held to fill vacancies increased the number of the republicans, who presently began to put the conservative forces to rout. They managed to have a number of constitutional laws passed (1873–75) by which the republic was definitely established and the power vested in (1) a Chamber of deputies, elected by universal suffrage; (2) a Senate, elected by special bodies in the departments; and (3) a president, elected for seven years by Senate and Chamber in a common session. When the Assembly at last dissolved itself and new elections were held (1876), the republicans were returned in crushing majority. The next year the Senate became republican, too, and now nothing but the presidency remained in the hands of the monarchists. The first president had been Thiers (1871–73), a very moderate man, who, for the very reason of his moderation, had in 1873 been obliged to give way to Marshall MacMahon, a thorough-

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going monarchist. MacMahon presented a bold front to the rising tide of republicanism till 1879, when, convinced that his cause was hopeless, he made way for a radical, Grévy. Thus, after the struggle of a decade, the republicans had acquired and have since retained the three organs of political power.

Democratic measures.

The republican *régime* has succeeded in thoroughly democratizing France. The government has established an army on the basis of universal military service, as in Germany; it has begun to decentralize the power by making the municipal authorities elective; and it has created a system of public education on the broad foundation of a gratuitous and compulsory primary instruction. Of course, with so many explosive forces stored up as in France, the path of the republic has not been strewn with roses. The army, officered by men of the upper classes, has sometimes shown signs of disobedience, and on several occasions, notably under instigation from General Boulanger (1887–89), has threatened to take matters into its own hands. Still greater danger than from the army has threatened from the clergy.

Troubles with the Church.

The general democratic drift was by no means to the liking of the Roman Catholic clergy, traditionally linked to the cause of monarchy. Under the prudent guidance of Pope Leo XIII. the French clergy "rallied" for a time around the republic, but a renewed and definite breach took place when the government developed its educational policy. Education had hitherto been a prerogative of the Church, which by means of its schools had moulded the youth of the nation. Therefore, when the attempt was made to organize a public-school system of lay teachers under the direct control of the state, the clergy showed signs of growing resentment. In the end a clash ensued between Church and state, which has finally led to a complete falling out of the former partners. In 1901 the government began to close the schools

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maintained by the religious orders, and proceeding step by step, ended (1905) by cancelling the agreement of 1801 (the Concordat) with Rome. Church and state in France are now entirely separated, as in the United States, and the state will presently cease paying the salaries of priests and bishops. Further, by the Separation Act the state has appropriated the churches and cathedrals, but declares itself ready to deliver them over to religious congregations, formed according to the terms of the law. In August, 1906, the Pope refused in a letter to the French bishops to sanction these congregations, thus openly declaring that a state of war exists between Rome and the government. There the matter rests: The state has affirmed its sovereign and democratic character, but in appropriating public education and in disestablishing the Church it has offended the Pope to the point where he seems inclined to resist to the utmost.

The alliance with Russia.

Meanwhile, the foreign policy of the republic has been largely governed by antagonism to Germany. During the early years of the Third Republic, France remained isolated, and by the creation of the Triple Alliance in 1883 seemed to be put into a distinctly inferior position. But relief was at hand. Russia, angered by the settlement of Berlin (1878), was drifting away from her traditional friendship with Germany, and presently made friendly overtures to France. Early in the nineties the growing intimacy took the form of an alliance, which has tended to restore French confidence and prestige.

Colonial expansion.

But even before the Russian friendship was assured, France had taken up with success a policy of colonial expansion. She has acquired Madagascar, Annam in Farther India, Tonkin in southern China—not, of course, without expense and bloodshed—and she has unfurled her flag over a considerable section of Africa. Africa, being nearer home, is the chief object of her attention, and the African policy of the repub-

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lic has taken the form of amassing as large an empire as possible around Algiers, the splendid province acquired in 1830. We have seen how the seizure of Tunis (1881) raised a question between France and Italy; but far from being content with Tunis, the government has pushed its claims over the Sahara and the northwest until only the Mohammedan empire of Morocco remains independent. This forward movement in Africa, persisted in throughout the century, was watched with alarm not only by Italy, but also by England, which, after its occupation of Egypt in 1882, looked upon the Nile valley as its particular domain. Constant diplomatic friction seems at last to have been allayed by an agreement of April, 1904, which, generally speaking, assigns the whole northwest, including Morocco, to France as her sphere of influence, and in return concedes the Nile region to Great Britain.

The greatness and weakness of France.

Since the German war France has established the republic upon solid foundations; she has created a democratic army and a democratic school-system, free from clerical influence; and she has enlarged her colonial dominion; nevertheless, she does not play as important a rôle as before 1870. The reason is not to be found in any falling off of her moral integrity or industrial efficiency, but solely in the fact that her population has become practically stationary.

Germany.

Bismarck in control.

The proclamation of William, king of Prussia, as emperor, coupled with the completion of the German Empire, gave Bismarck, the creator of German unity, a position of unassailable authority. To his post of prime minister of Prussia he added that of chancellor or head, under the emperor, of the federal government. For the next twenty years he towered like a giant over German political life. The fed-

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eral constitution, a compromise of Prussian autocracy and German liberalism, left the sovereign in control of the army, the administration, and the ministry; the Reichstag voted the budget and made the laws. While the chancellor was therefore secure against overthrow by an adverse Parliamentary vote, he was reduced to finding a majority for a desired measure by bargaining with the various parties. He began by an alliance with the liberals, whose programme, in the main, he adopted. With their aid he was engaged in endowing the new federation with such necessary modern institutions as a system of coinage (its unit the mark = 24 cents), the French metric system of weights and measures, and a uniform system of judicature, when he fell into a quarrel, known as the *Culturkampf* (war for civilization), with the Roman Catholic Church.

The quarrel between Church and state, 1871–79.

We have seen that Italy and France—and it is true of almost every other European country—quarrelled with the Catholic Church during the second half of the nineteenth century. The main issue has usually been the control of education. In Germany figured some additional features, especially the claim of the Church to be exempt from all interference on the part of the state. The Catholics, who form a minority in Germany, stood solidly together in and outside the Reichstag, and although the state passed several severe laws curtailing the authority of the clergy, Bismarck was at last obliged to sound a retreat. The Catholic political party, called the Centre, not only succeeded in getting most of the legislation against the Church repealed, but also in acquiring a leading position in German public life. On the great question of education a compromise was reached by which the state retained charge of the schools, but made religion an obligatory subject, handing over the Catholic instruction to the Catholic clergy and the Protestant instruction to the Protestant ministers.

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Industry and social-democracy.

Economically, the most significant fact in modern Germany is the progress of commerce and industry. German manufactures, stimulated by the exploitation of the iron and coal deposits along the Rhine and in Silesia, have entered into competition with those of England and the United States, and German commerce now encircles the globe. A social consequence has been the marvellous growth of the cities, whose swarming masses have naturally banded together for the purpose of improving their position by political action. Organized by clever leaders—Lasalle, Liebknecht, Bebel—as the social-democratic party, the workingmen have steadily pressed toward the double ideal of a pure democracy and the control by the community of the means of production. The growth of the social-democracy has been uninterrupted, until in the Reichstag elections of 1903 it cast twice as many votes as any other party. This rise of a revolutionary faction, prepared to overthrow not only the monarchy but also the capitalistic middle class, greatly alarmed the government, and in the early eighties led Bismarck to turn his attention to the labor question. With characteristic ingenuity he adopted a programme of state socialism, devised to win the attachment of the workingmen. He had laws passed by which the state undertook to insure the laboring classes against accident, sickness, and old age; but although this insurance system has been in successful operation for two decades, it has not shaken the loyalty of its beneficiaries toward the party of revolution. Upon the social-democracy hinges the future of Germany. The monarchy, supported by the aristocracy, the clergy, and the middle classes, and the workingmen, with their programme of a republic with equal benefits for all, must find some common ground if Germany is to be saved from disruption.

In foreign affairs Germany has played an important part since her defeat of France. Bismarck, past-master in the

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art of diplomacy, did not fail to see that he must secure his country first of all against its late enemy. He succeeded in forming the league of the three emperors of Russia, Austria, and Germany, which lasted until the Balkan war of 1877. Such a league of course made Germany unassailable, but it came to an end when, after the Congress of Berlin (1878), Russia showed an inclination to ascribe the hostile enactments of that gathering to Germany and Austria. Thereupon Bismarck formed a close alliance with the cabinet of Vienna (1879). The admission of Italy into this compact created the famous Triple Alliance (1883), which has been several times renewed, and which has thus far honestly contributed to the maintenance of the European peace. The Triple Alliance of the central powers and the Dual Alliance of their eastern and western neighbors make Europe on the surface look like a camp ready to bristle with arms at a moment's notice, but, deeply considered, these arrangements, by establishing a nearly even balance of power, greatly reduce the chances of war. Great Britain, hovering upon the outskirt of these great peace leagues, at first favored the Triple Alliance, but, increasingly alarmed over the rapid growth of Germany, has since the beginning of the twentieth century shown a strong inclination to rally to the side of France.

The policy of peace and the Triple Alliance.

Old Emperor William died in 1888 at the ripe age of ninety-one. He was succeeded by his son Frederick, already stricken with a mortal disease, and after a few weeks by his grandson, William II. William II., an active, talented, and religious sovereign with strong autocratic leanings, was resolved not only to rule but also to govern. He soon dismissed Bismarck (1890), because he was not inclined to be overtopped by a mere subject, and then by a policy of speeches at banquets and similar occasions entered actively into all the questions of the day. He has started many re-

William II.

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forms, some good, others indifferent; he has shown an unflagging interest in commerce, manufactures, science, and the fine arts; he is the real creator of the German navy; but by putting himself persistently forward he has made himself also the main object of attack within and without his dominion. Although he has dug deeper the chasm between the monarchy and the socialists, he has held the affection of the middle classes, and seems to occupy a very strong and unassailable position.

Austria-Hungary.

Federalism versus centralization.

On the heels of the failure of the revolution of 1848 the government of the young emperor, Francis Joseph, returned to the Metternichian system, which locked Austria in the prison of absolutism for the next ten years. But the unfortunate Italian campaign of 1859 brought an awakening. The emperor himself saw the necessity of change and published a solemn promise to admit the people to a share in public affairs. In what form was this to be done? Two courses seemed to be open: (1) To declare the various provinces of the Hapsburg dominion self-governing, each with its own Parliament but subject to the common sovereign—this the federal system; and (2) to weld the provinces as closely together as possible and make them subject to a national Parliament and administration at Vienna—this the system of centralization. The former plan was favored by the Slav tribes—Czechs, Poles, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs—who felt that it contained a guarantee of their national existence; the latter by the Germans, who wished to retain their historical predominance. The Hungarians would accept neither of the two systems, and after a period of hesitation and conflict (1860–67) decided the issue according to their special demands.

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The dual empire of Austria-Hungary created, 1867.

The Hungarians declared that as an independent nation they were interested neither in Slav federalism nor in German centralization, but wanted singly and solely a recognition of their ancient constitution, suppressed after their defeat in 1849. So firmly did they comport themselves that Francis Joseph at last gave way. Having in 1867 declared the Hungarian constitution again in vigor, he was crowned at Budapest as king of Hungary. At the same time the kingdom of Hungary entered into an agreement with the rest of the Hapsburg monarchy to regard a certain number of affairs, such as diplomacy, the army and navy, the national debt, the coinage, the customs tariff, as common to both contracting parties. Thus was called into being the dual system indicated in the official designation of Austria-Hungary, and constituting an unclassifiable novelty among political creations. It is plainly more than a personal union, and yet, on the other hand, less than a close federation, as the agreement on most matters (coinage, customs) has to be renewed from decade to decade, and the agreement on no matter, not even on the army and navy, is perpetual. Judging this scheme of dualism by its record, a student can give it at best but a qualified approval. The two halves of the monarchy have quarrelled constantly, some of the agreements have been permitted to lapse, and the refusal of the emperor to grant certain new demands of the Hungarians, touching the abolition of the German language in the Hungarian half of the common army, led in the year 1905 to a condition in Hungary which can only be described as latent revolution. It is not credible that the dual system of 1867 can be maintained much longer without great changes.

Hungarian success in Hungary.

The idea behind the arrangement of 1867 was the supremacy of the Hungarians and the Germans, in the east and west respectively, at the expense of the Slavs. In Hungary, taken together with its dependent provinces of Croatia

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and Transylvania, the Hungarians did not constitute one-half of the population, but such was their patriotic vigor and political intelligence that they have, though frequently with questionable means, secured their ascendancy. Austria, which was defined as including all the Hapsburg dominions not assigned to Hungary—that is, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Lower Austria, Tyrol, etc.—has led a very stormy life since the dual settlement. The Germans, though traditionally in control, constituted only a strong minority, and partly from lack of homogeneity, partly from lack of support on the part of the emperor and his government, have been obliged to relax their hold. The trouble has lain in the inability of Francis Joseph to make up his mind definitely about the old issue of federalism versus centralization. After supporting for a time the centralized system, which naturally favored the Germans, as it confirmed their rule over non-German provinces, Francis Joseph turned in 1879 to the federalists, who in varying combination have been at the helm ever since, and who, although they have not yet dissolved the Austrian state, have steadily pursued their federalist objects, thereby putting the Germans on the defensive. The struggle of the various nationalities[1] in Austria and Hungary, but especially in Austria, is intense and uninterrupted, and would have long ago led to a complete dissolution of the Hapsburg dominion, if it were not for the pressure of two circumstances. All the nationalities unite in loyalty to the Hapsburg dynasty; and however much they quarrel, they balk at separation for fear that something worse may befall them.

German failure in Austria.

The tale of the Austro-Hungarian foreign policy is soon told. Since Austria's exclusion from Germany (1866) her

Austria-Hungary interested chiefly in the Balkans.

[1] The census of 1890 gives the following figures for the leading nationalities: Germans, 10,600,000; Hungarians, 7,500,000; Czechs, 7,400,000; Ruthenians, 3,500,000; Poles, 3,700,000; Serbs and Croatians, 3,300,000; Roumanians, 2,800,000; Italians, 700,000.

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chief interest has lain in the Balkans, where she naturally came into rivalry with Russia. At the Congress of Berlin (1878) she received, like almost everybody else, a piece of the Sultan's cloak in the shape of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria-Hungary was asked to administer these territories provisionally under the sovereignty of the Sultan, but nobody doubts that the occupation is permanent. As the rivalry with Russia had by reason of this step grown acute, Francis Joseph concluded (1879) the treaty with Germany which in 1883, by the accession of Italy, grew into the Triple Alliance, still operative at this day (1906).

The future of Austria-Hungary.

The future of Austria-Hungary is one of the grave problems of Europe. The falling apart of the monarchy would raise a tremendous dust-cloud and cause an almost certain scramble for the scattered remains among the neighbors. That anything will occur to strengthen the wabbling structure is not likely. On the other hand, the loyalty to the reigning House, and especially to the person of the old emperor, Francis Joseph (1848—still reigning 1906), as well as the conservatism inherent in the blood of men, may keep the warring nationalities from the last step and indefinitely secure to the monarchy its present precarious existence.

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CHAPTER XXVI

THE MINOR STATES OF EUROPE

THE minor states of Europe have of course shared in the great movements of the nineteenth century and show a development along the same lines as the great powers. Their history manifests, in the realm of politics, the progress of democracy; in economics, the increase of wealth and population through the application of science to industry and commerce; and in the relation of classes, an improved organization of the workingmen coupled with a leaning toward socialist views. These movements are modified in each country by its special situation.

A. Spain.

REFERENCES: FYFFE, Modern Europe, Chapters XIV., XVII.; SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter X., pp. 286–319; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 127–30, 462; M. A. S. HUME, Modern Spain (1788–1898).

The return of the Bourbons.

The political history of Spain in the nineteenth century is a dreary story of misgovernment and revolution. We have seen that when Ferdinand VII., the Bourbon monarch, came back after the fall of Napoleon, he straightway repudiated the liberal party, which had been fostered on the ideas of the French Revolution and had during the War of Independence drawn up a constitution (1812). Then he re-established the absolute *régime* of his ancestors even to the point of calling the hated Inquisition from the tomb.

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His contemptible conduct caused the revolution of 1820, which after a short liberal triumph led to the French intervention of 1823 and to the restoration of the tyranny of Ferdinand. We have also seen how the support of the Holy Alliance, so effective on the Continent of Europe, proved of no avail toward the conquest of the Spanish-American colonies, and how these, in spite of Ferdinand's protest, entered upon a career of independence.

Civil war.

But misgovernment at home and the loss of South America does not complete the tale of the misery wrought by the wretched king. Even in his death he became a curse to his country by creating a succession issue. He left his crown, when he died in 1833, to his infant daughter Isabella, under the regency of her mother Christina, thereby setting aside his brother Carlos, who considered himself the legal heir. The result was a civil war of Christinists against Carlists, which lasted until Carlos, after seven years of fighting, was driven from the country (1840). By that time civil war had become a national habit and now broke out among the victors. The dreary struggle is apparently without rhyme or reason, but, closely scanned, will reveal at its core the momentous question: shall Spain retain her feudal and absolute shackles or shall she cast them off and enter upon the path of modern constitutionalism? Christina, the regent, and Queen Isabella after her, published and annulled constitutions, made and broke promises, compounded with this and that group of politicians, until the feeble and dishonest game was at an end and Queen Isabella had to flee abroad before a popular rising (1868). A period followed of vain experimentation; in reality the country passed into the hands of successive dictators. During the ascendancy of the Generals Serrano and Prim the crown was offered (1870) to Leopold of Hohenzollern, producing that Spanish incident which brought about the Franco-German War. In 1873,

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under the high-minded and capable Castelar, even the republican form of government received a trial.

Restoration of the Bourbons under Alfonso XII. (1875).

At length the country made up its mind that for better or worse its destiny was coupled with that of the inherited Bourbon dynasty and called back Isabella's son, the young Alfonso (1875). In 1876 a constitution was published which vested the legislative power together with ministerial control in a *cortes* of two houses—a *senate*, partly elected and partly appointed by the king, and a *congress*, elected by the people. Since 1890 manhood suffrage has been introduced. Old wounds open from time to time, but apparently Spain has entered upon an era of definite constitutional progress. When Alfonso XII. died in 1885, the grief was general and the nation rallied enthusiastically around his posthumous son, Alfonso XIII., for whom his mother assumed the regency till he was declared of age in 1902.

The constitution.

Economic and social conditions.

The economic and social conditions continue to present a serious problem. The country possesses great natural resources (good soil and climate in the south, mineral wealth in the north), but the population, superstitious, backward in civilization, and prone to idleness, does not make the most of them. The poverty is great, beggary a national calamity. But a slow improvement is noticeable, which will be accelerated when the public schools are made effective and illiteracy, which is general, has been stamped out. Until lately a great drain upon the national finances was the remnant of the once vast colonial empire, Cuba and the Philippines. Perennial misgovernment had made these dependencies prone to revolt, and neither military reconquest nor belated attempts at reform secured the attachment of the alienated natives. In 1894 Cuba rose again, and when a Spanish force of 200,000 men had almost reduced the island to a desert, the United States interfered, provoking the Spanish-American War of 1898. The lusty republic

The Spanish colonies.

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was quickly successful, and in the Peace of Paris Spain declared Cuba independent and ceded Porto Rico and the Philippines to the victor. The assertion may be ventured that the war freed Spain from an embarrassment, for a weak power, just recovering from a mortal lethargy, cannot hope to communicate the spark of life to distant colonies. Spain can now retrench her expenditures and stop the growth of her national debt with its crushing interest charges. She can concentrate her attention upon her domestic problems, and may be expected to make rapid progress in popular education, scientific culture, and industrial methods.

B. Portugal.

REFERENCES: FYFFE, Modern Europe, Chapters XIV., XVII.; SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter X., pp. 319–26; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 90–91, 130–33; STEPHENS, H. Morse, Portugal.

King John returns from Brazil.

Portugal, the sister nation to the west of Spain, has in the nineteenth century passed through the familiar crisis caused by the conflict of reactionary and progressive principles. When Napoleon invaded Portugal in 1807, King John and the royal family of Braganza embarked for their great dependency, Brazil, where the sovereign chose to remain even after Napoleon's rule had been overthrown. In 1820 the Portuguese, disaffected by this unexpected preference, rose in revolt and demanded a constitution. In order to save his crown, John VI. came back and with a measure of common sense unusual in a legitimate king submitted to a limitation of his absolutism.

Portugal and Brazil part company.

On John's leaving Brazil, however, the Brazilians, offended in their turn, declared themselves independent of Portugal and offered the crown to John's son, Pedro. Pedro wisely accepted, adopting the title Emperor Pedro I.,

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but on his father's death, in 1826, had to renounce the older crown of Portugal in favor of his infant daughter Maria.

Civil war.

Thus Portugal and Brazil went each its own way. The succession in Portugal of Maria was presently disputed by Pedro's uncle Miguel, with the result that Portugal, like Spain, was plunged into civil war. At length the supporters of Maria, who stood for constitutionalism, were victorious over Miguel and his reactionary henchmen, and Portugal about the middle of the century was pacified and definitely enrolled among the limited monarchies of Europe. The constitution provides for a *cortes* of two houses—the peers, who are in part appointed by the king, in part elected, and a lower chamber, elected by the people. The franchise has been gradually extended (the most recent bill is of 1901) until it is practically exercised by all adult males.

The constitution.

The colonies of Portugal.

Brazil, which with the accession of Emperor Pedro I. became an independent state, need not be examined here, except to point out the fortune of the House of Braganza. Pedro I. was followed by his son, Pedro II., a prince of a modern type, who, when he discovered, after a beneficent reign, that the people preferred a republic, resigned his throne without a struggle (1890). Even after the loss of Brazil, Portugal retained considerable territory in Africa (see map, facing p. 540), but national poverty coupled with bad management makes the possession a burden on the treasury. The Azores and Madeira, nearer home, are a more lucrative investment, but are not properly colonies, as they are peopled with Portuguese and are fully incorporated with the kingdom.

Difficulties and problems.

Economically and intellectually Portugal reproduces the problems and sorrows of Spain. The country has resources, but the poor and indolent population cannot exploit them. Illiteracy is rampant; fully one-half the people cannot read and write. The finances, going from bad to worse, led in

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1893 to a partial suspension of interest payment on the national debt. That meant bankruptcy. Doubtless it would be a blessing if Portugal could be persuaded to pocket her pride, disband her army, and sell her African colonies to the highest bidder. Perhaps, too, it would be the part of wisdom if the two sister nations, Spain and Portugal, could be persuaded to form a federation, but the patriotism of the Portuguese puts any such plan out of the question for a long time to come. However, when all is said, civilization has moved forward and not backward in this state, in whose skies still lingers faintly the glory of the age when Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope and Vasco da Gama returned with the spices of India.

C. Switzerland.

REFERENCES: SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter IX., pp. 257–86; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 10, 262–65; MCCRACKEN, Rise of the Swiss Republic, Book V. (nineteenth century).

Difficulties of the Swiss Confederation.

We have seen (p. 86) how the Swiss Confederation began in the revolt of the three Forest cantons, Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, against the counts of Hapsburg; how other cantons joined the league until the number reached thirteen; and how the sovereignty of the republic, after having been virtually exercised for two and a half centuries, was acknowledged by the Holy Roman Empire in the Peace of Westphalia (1648). Though independence was gained, the new state was afflicted with many troubles: 1. The union established no effective federal control and practically left the individual cantons sovereign. 2. While some cantons were governed democratically, others were swayed entirely by a narrow oligarchy. 3. Certain regions were classified as subject or allied territories and

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did not enjoy equality with the thirteen cantons. 4. The Reformation had carried into the country a fierce religious strife, which the settlement of Kappel (1531) alleviated but did not end.

Changes wrought by the French Revolution.

Nevertheless, imperfect as the Swiss union was, it endured till the French Revolution, when it went to pieces under the assault of the new ideas aided by a French army of invasion. In 1803 Napoleon interposed as mediator among the warring cantons and imposed a constitution along liberal lines with real federal control, but this, like all the rest of his creations, was swept away by the iron besom of the allies and left the question of Switzerland to be decided by the Congress of Vienna. The statesmen of the Congress with their unreasoning conservatism favored the loose union of prerevolutionary days. This was therefore reëstablished, not without certain modifications but with an avowed return to the traditional state sovereignty. In other respects the Congress was not ungenerous. Switzerland was put under the guarantee of the powers, and new cantons were added, bringing the number, as at present, up to twenty-two.

The federal victory.

The Federal Pact of 1815 had hardly been adopted when the old troubles flared up again, federalists arraying themselves against advocates of state rights, Protestants against Catholics. The crisis came toward the middle of the century. To defend themselves against the encroachments of the radicals and reformers, seven Catholic cantons formed a conservative league called *Sonderbund*. This act, tantamount to secession, was challenged by the Federal Diet, and in a short war the Sonderbund was defeated and scattered (1847). Thereupon the radical victors crowned their work by giving Switzerland a new constitution, which was both federal and democratic, and which with slight alterations is in operation to-day.

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The constitution.

By the constitution of 1848 the supremacy of the federal over the cantonal powers was raised beyond a doubt, but the governments of the cantons were not deprived of their local rights. Switzerland in its dovetailing of federal and state powers offers a strong resemblance to the political system of the United States. The national legislation was vested in a Federal Assembly of two houses: the *Council of States*, much like the United States Senate, consists of two delegates from each canton, while the *National Council*, comparable to the House of Representatives, is elected by the people on the basis of universal manhood suffrage. The national executive is not a single person, but a committee of seven, called the *Federal Council* and elected by the Federal Assembly. Although one of the seven presides under the title of *President of the Council*, his authority is hardly greater than that of his colleagues. A very interesting feature developed by the Swiss democracy is the direct share in law-making secured to the people by means of two devices, the referendum and the popular initiative. By the *referendum*, laws passed by the legislature are referred for a final verdict to a popular vote. We may notice, by the way, that this is a growing practice in the state and city governments of the United States. The *popular initiative* concedes the right to a certain number of voters to frame a bill which must be submitted to the people for adoption or rejection. These measures, in successful operation for some time in both the state and national governments, make Switzerland the most advanced democracy of our age.

Referendum and popular initiative.

Prosperity and race harmony.

Political discussion and responsibility have had the effect of so stirring the energies of the people that Switzerland enjoys a remarkable prosperity. An excellent public-school system has stamped out illiteracy. Switzerland, too, although it enfolds several nationalities, is not vexed by any race problem. Of the twenty-two cantons, thirteen are

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German, four are French, three are mixed German and French, and one is Italian. In the canton of Graubünden German disputes possession with Romansch, a dying tongue derived from Latin. The preponderant element is German (over two-thirds of the whole population), but German, French, and Italian are all official languages.

D. Holland.

REFERENCES: SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter VIII., pp. 229–44; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 8, 187, 192.

The United Netherlands from 1815 to 1830.

The Congress of Vienna, moved by the desire to create a strong barrier against France, tried the experiment of uniting the ancient Netherlands under a Dutch king of the House of Orange. We have seen (Chapter XVIII) that the project failed, not only because of differences in race, language, and religion, but also quite as much because the southern provinces were treated unfairly in such matters as office-holding and parliamentary representation. Against such discrimination the southern provinces protested in their revolt of 1830 and organized themselves as a separate state under the name of Belgium. The Dutch king, William I., offered what resistance he could, but had at last to give way.

The constitution.

We should note that William's diminished kingdom, colloquially called Holland, bears officially the name of the Netherlands. The constitution granted by the sovereign in 1814 was replaced in 1848 by a more liberal one still in vigor. The king has at his side a law-making body, called the States-General, composed of two houses. The upper house represents the provinces and is chosen by the provincial legislatures, while the lower house is elected by the people, practically (since 1896) on the basis of manhood

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suffrage. The kingdom is a federal state and the component provinces retain a large measure of self-government.

The outlook.

The solid qualities of the Dutch have brought peace and prosperity to the state. The large colonial possessions in Asiatic waters, a remnant of the more considerable territories acquired in the heroic days of the republic, present many difficulties, but are still managed at a profit. Is the state ever likely to be incorporated with Germany, with which it is closely allied in speech and blood? The patriotism and traditions of the Dutch are emphatically enlisted against such a fusion, and the mere suggestion arouses resentment. The question, occasionally discussed by people of a speculative turn, is not likely to become a burning one for a long time. The present sovereign is Queen Wilhelmina, who succeeded in 1890 at the age of ten, and is the last scion of the famous Orange stock.

E. Belgium.

REFERENCES: SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter VIII., pp. 244–57; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 188–99, 454, 467.

The constitution.

Following their successful revolt of 1830 the Belgian people organized themselves under a liberal monarchical constitution and called to the throne Leopold of the German House of Saxe-Coburg. His family still reigns in Belgium, Leopold I. (1831–65) after a prosperous rule being succeeded by his son, Leopold II. (1865—still reigning, 1906). The constitution of 1831, with a few amendments, is still in effect. It created a Parliament of two houses, an upper house, largely chosen by local bodies, and a lower house, elected by the people. Originally the electors were a small body by reason of a high property qualification, but since 1893 manhood suffrage prevails with the curious feature of

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plural votes for men possessed of a more than average measure of wealth and education.

Clericals and socialists.

This recent grant of a liberal franchise was due to the remarkable industrial prosperity of Belgium in the nineteenth century. The little state has taken a place among the great manufacturing countries of the world, and has developed a dense population of over 6,000,000 people, largely laborers crowded together in grimy cities. This proletariat by threatening demonstrations forced the government to extend the suffrage as just noted. The first enlarged election (1894) astonished the agitators, inasmuch as the country returned a large clerical majority. The clerical party, intensely Catholic, immediately carried its favorite measure and put the schools under the control of the Church. Meanwhile the socialists have been growing rapidly, making it plain that the battle for the possession of power will be waged henceforth between the two extreme parties. In the new alignment of issues the old-fashioned liberals, in Belgium as everywhere else, have been crushed between the upper and the nether millstone.

The Congo Free State.

In the scramble for Africa Leopold secured the recognition by the European nations of his sovereignty of the Congo Free State (1884). The sovereignty is personal, but Leopold was obliged to administer his vast realm by Belgian subjects and to develop it with Belgian capital, and has promised in return for this support to leave it to the state on his demise. The Congo Free State is therefore already essentially a Belgian colony. A cruel exploitation of the natives on the part of the companies formed to trade in ivory and rubber has lately come to light, and furnishes an extreme example of the evils attending the rule of savages by so-called superior races, but the indignation of the civilized world directed at the Belgian companies also shows where the corrective of these abuses lies.

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F. Denmark.

REFERENCES: SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter XVIII., pp. 554–56, 566–78; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 314–15, 326, 394, 409–12, 418–19.

Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.

The political power of the feudal orders lasted very long in Denmark, and not till 1660, in the reign of Frederick III., was it replaced by the absolute monarchy. This system continued well into the nineteenth century, but in 1848 the liberal agitation was successful and induced the king to grant a modern constitution. At the same time the interest of the nation became absorbed in the question of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which, inhabited for the most part by Germans and bound to Denmark only by a personal union, were aiming at independence. We have followed the struggle (pp. 447–48, 456, 470–71) to the interference in 1864 of Austria and Prussia, who compelled the surrender of the two provinces to themselves. Later, in 1866, Bismarck obliged Austria to forego her claim.

Domestic affairs.

Since the defeat of 1864 Denmark has devoted herself to domestic affairs. A promising beginning was made in 1866 by a new constitution, which created a parliament of two houses. The upper house is largely appointed by the king, while the lower house is elected by manhood suffrage. Increasing prosperity tends to strengthen the democracy, but the king remains an important factor in the government. Christian IX., who succeeded to the throne in 1863, reigned until his death in 1906. Owing to the brilliant marriages of two of his daughters to the heirs respectively of the thrones of Great Britain and Russia, he was known humorously as the father-in-law of Europe. From 1877 to 1891 he maintained a contest with the lower house over the question as to who controlled the ministry, himself or the representatives, and to all appearances he came out victorious.

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The arctic island Iceland is a Danish dependency, but, already possessed of extensive rights of self-government, inclines to insist more and more on complete home rule.

G. Sweden and Norway.

REFERENCES: SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter XVIII., 554–66; R. N. BAIN, Scandinavia, Chapter XVII.

The union of Sweden and Norway.

In return for aid granted to the allies in 1813 against Napoleon, Marshal Bernadotte, crown prince of Sweden, stipulated that Norway be added to his territories. Norway had been for four hundred years a dependency of Denmark, and the Norwegian people hoped that in the general reconstruction of Europe the Danish *régime* would be replaced by independence. The prospect of a new subjection, this time to Sweden, alarmed them, and, rising (1814) in rebellion, they refused to be satisfied until the king of Sweden promised to rule Norway, not as a Swedish province, but as an independent kingdom with its own separate constitution. Thus was created the kingdom of Sweden and Norway, a union of two equal states having little in common beyond the same sovereign.

Quarrels and separation.

Even so the Norwegians were not content. They struggled incessantly to insure themselves the fullest possible control of their own affairs, and from 1872 the relations of the two Scandinavian neighbors became critical. First the Norwegian parliament, called *Storthing*, demanded that it, and not the king, should control the ministry, and no sooner was this battle won, when it demanded a separate Norwegian consular service. As this would have created two separate departments of foreign affairs, the king resisted, and a long struggle ensued, which the Storthing at

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last ended in 1905 by declaring the king of Sweden deposed and Norway independent. For a moment war between Sweden and Norway seemed imminent, but Oscar II. gave another proof of the sagacity which has won him golden opinions, by bowing to the inevitable. In the fall of 1905 the Storthing with the approval of the people offered the crown to the Danish prince Charles, who, in accepting the election, declared that he would reign under the name, famous in Norwegian story, of Haakon. Norway and Sweden are now in all respects independent of each other, and with every cause of conflict removed may start afresh upon an era of unclouded relations.

Aristocratic Sweden and democratic Norway.

A circumstance which doubtless contributed to the friction between the ill-sorted pair was that Sweden is an aristocratic, Norway a democratic country. This appears from an examination of their constitutions. Not until the middle of the century did Sweden give up its mediæval diet, composed of four estates, for a modern parliament of two houses (1866). The upper house is chosen by local councils and only wealthy men are eligible, while the lower house is elected by the people. The franchise for the lower house is based on an income qualification high enough to exclude one-third of the adult males from voting. These arrangements are due to the traditional influence exercised in Sweden by the clergy and nobility. In Norway, although the clergy is powerful, the nobility counts for nothing, for the Storthing abolished the use of nobiliary titles half a century ago. Since 1884 every man has a vote, with the result that the Storthing is as democratic as the society which it represents.

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CHAPTER XXVII

ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW CENTURY

REFERENCES: E. P. CHEYNEY, An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England; K. MARX, Capital (the first great attack upon modern society from the socialist point of view); R. T. ELY, Socialism: An Examination of its Nature, its Strength, and its Weakness; A. R. WALLACE, The Wonderful Century (an interesting record of inventions); P. LEROY-BEAULIEU, The Awakening of the East: Siberia, Japan, China; R. K. DOUGLAS, Europe and the Far East; T. F. MILLARD, The New Far East: An Examination into the New Position of Japan; SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814. Conclusion.

The political revolution of the nineteenth century accompanied by a social revolution.

LOOKING backward over the nineteenth century we recognize at once that the political drift of Europe has been toward a closer national organization, accompanied by an extension of the powers of the people. The unification of Italy and Germany, as well as the victory of the federal party in Switzerland, the founding of the Christian states of the Balkans, and the separation of Norway from Sweden are all victories of the spirit of nationalism, while the substitution of the constitutional for the absolute *régime* on the Continent, and the extension of the suffrage everywhere to larger and larger circles, indicate the triumphant progress of democracy. To the thoughtful reader it must long ago have grown apparent that the general political revolution is the effect of another revolution in the very depths of society itself. Of this we must now briefly speak, glancing

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therewith at the fundamental reasons for the constitutional and national movements of the nineteenth century.

Science, the modern civilizing agent.

The new and irresistible power generated by modern society is science. The reader will remember that we have spoken of an earlier phase of science in connection with the civilization of the Renaissance. Originating in man's instinctive desire for knowledge about himself and the world, science smouldered even under the ashes of the Middle Ages, and burst into bright flame as soon as the new nations had begun to emerge from feudal barbarism. The voyages of discovery, the revival of learning, and the Copernican theory are among the achievements of the scientific spirit, which we recorded in their proper place, and which we agreed ushered in the Modern Period. Since the sixteenth century scientific investigation had not only never ceased, but had progressively invaded new fields and been more perfectly organized. In addition to more accurate observation students gradually brought to bear upon the problems of nature (1) *experimentation*, by which they were enabled to study results obtained by artificial combinations, and (2) *special apparatus*, like the telescope and microscope, designed to give aid in collecting information.

The progress of science.

Science made uninterrupted progress throughout the early modern centuries. Space forbids us to do more than glance at these advances by way of illustration. The Italian Galileo (1564–1642) constructed a telescope, by means of which he discovered the spots on the sun and by following their change of position was enabled to prove that the sun revolved on its axis. Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) discovered that gravitation was a universal force and that bodies are attracted to one another inversely as the square of the distance. A mere enumeration of the discoveries in chemistry and medicine would cover many pages.

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Steam and machinery.

Thus under constant accumulation of knowledge we come to the end of the eighteenth century, when the first important steps were taken in what we may call the utilization of science, that is, its application to industry and commerce. In this movement England took the lead. The power of steam had long formed a subject of speculation, but not till 1777 did James Watt yoke it in the service of man by inventing the steam-engine. A boiler with an engine attached could now supply power equal to that of many men. This is the starting-point of the industrial revolution of our age. The steam-engine stimulated the invention and construction of iron machinery; hand-made articles were more and more replaced by machine-made articles; the artisans working under the old system in scattered homes were gathered together in factories, where the machinery was installed; and the cities in consequence of the herding of men grew with unexampled rapidity. Steam as a propelling power was presently applied to transportation, and before the nineteenth century was many decades old the railway, first tried in England by Stephenson, and the steamboat, invented by Fulton, an American, secured a method of travel swifter, cheaper, and more reliable than the domestic animal.

Transportation by steam.

Transformation of society.

The effect of these inventions on the primary problem of man, the problem of subsistence, forces itself on the attention. With the aid of steam-driven machinery the raw products of the earth were amassed and worked over into articles of use more abundantly than ever before, and with the aid of steam-driven conveyances goods were carried rapidly and safely over land and sea to the most distant markets. Wealth was multiplied to an almost incredible extent and trickled in rivulets or flowed in broad streams through all the nations. An immediate general effect was a quick growth of population, for there was now a larger

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quantity of food and clothing to be distributed and at a smaller price, while a further consequence was the raising of the standard of living among all classes. Not only has Europe in the nineteenth century doubled its population, but the average artisan can command comforts, which make his life in certain material respects more enjoyable than that of the aristocracy of a hundred years ago.

Present and future.

The social and economic energy, liberated by the application of science to industry and commerce, has proved cumulative, gathering power with each decade. Inventions and labor-saving devices have run into the thousands and hundreds of thousands. What this means for the daily life of man is illustrated by pointing out some of the improvements in the single field of human intercourse: the *telegraph*, binding together the people of the same continent, has been followed by the *submarine cable*, which circles the world, while the *telephone* gives every man direct speech with his immediate neighborhood. The latest addition to this group of inventions, the *wireless telegraph*, has not yet been perfected, but opens a prospect which bewilders the imagination. Another limitless outlook is unfolded by the development of electricity as a motive power by the side of or in the place of steam. It is not impertinent or rash to prophesy that the scientific movement, involving new discoveries of the laws and energies of nature and a fuller utilization of these laws, is no more than well under way, and that the future, from an economic point of view, will be far more wonderful than the past.

Awakening of the individual.

A little reflection will make plain how the diffusion of scientific habits of thought and the unexampled increase of manufactured articles, coupled with a widening network of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, must have stimulated the political development of the nineteenth century. Superstition, which has always thriven upon ignorance of nature,

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has been obliged to relax its hold. The inert masses have been awakened from their sleep, and have generally possessed themselves of the first tools of culture, of reading and writing. The large towns, where life is necessarily most intense, have familiarized the workingmen with modern liberal thought, while the distribution of wealth in the form of plots of land, cottages, and personalty, has given the artisan a direct interest in the policy of the state. In view of his intellectual and material advancement, it was inevitable that he should clamor to be represented in the government, and that his intelligence and material prosperity should be recognized by the concession of the right of suffrage. We have followed the movement by which, generally speaking, the common man has obtained full citizen rights.

The socialist movement.

But the democratic basis of the state was no sooner assured than a movement began which is now the leading problem of every modern community. A workingman at present may indeed exercise the full rights of citizenship, his material and moral condition during the past generation is represented by a steady upward curve, but a new source of discontent has arisen through his growing conviction that our present industrial system favors the capitalist class by securing to it at his expense a reward out of all proportion to its services. He desires a new adjustment between capital and labor, affirming that the amazing concentration of capital in a few hands is the proof of an unfair division of profits, and that this concentration suspends over his head the threat of economic and, eventually, of political slavery. An advanced section of the workingmen has gone so far as to declare its set hostility to the existing system, which encourages the individual to amass all the wealth he can and guarantees to him the untroubled enjoyment of it by putting at his service all the powers of the state. These protesters

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call themselves *socialists*, and not content with merely destructive criticism, have, with an eye to the future, opposed to the current system their socialistic scheme, the essence of which is that the means of production should be owned not by a few individuals, but by the whole community, thus assuring a fair share in the benefits of nature to all her children. This economic theory received its most lucid and powerful presentation by a German revolutionary fugitive, Karl Marx. His work on capital (*Das Kapital*, 1867) has become the gospel preached by a thousand apostles in every country of the globe, with the result that there has everywhere grown up a social-democratic party, pledged to overthrow the present individual system of production in order to make room for public ownership and operation. The party has made consistent gains at the elections and in the public opinion of even England and the United States, and in some continental countries, like Germany, France, and Belgium, may conceivably acquire a majority within a generation. At the elections to the German Reichstag in 1903, the socialists polled thirty-two per cent. of the total vote.

Commercialism and humanity.

This hurried sketch of the social and industrial movement of our times may suffice to make clear to the reader that our world has grown smaller, its distant lands have been drawn more closely together, and its many races brought into a more significant brotherhood. The variegated articles of a great manufacturing country are carried to the remote markets of Central Asia and Darkest Africa, which send back in exchange their carpets, spices, and ivory. True, this expanding commerce has come to mean among the ruling nations competition, and too often a remorseless competition for markets, colonies, and conquests. An observer, directing his attention to this feature alone of modern life, might be tempted to declare that peace on earth, the

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avowed ideal of Christian mankind, is farther than ever from being realized. And yet the rush and scramble are only a single aspect of contemporary civilization. That at the same time the sense of brotherhood, the humanitarian spirit, is growing, can admit of no doubt. To support our contention we have only to refer to the mounting protest against war, which has lately taken the form of a great international league of peace, or to the socialist movement, which rests on the principle of universal brotherhood, although perhaps thus far the emphasis has been laid too exclusively on the brotherhood of workingmen. This is not the place to attempt an analysis of the fulness, richness, and many-sidedness of modern life, but the vigorous competition and warm humanitarianism lying cheek by jowl, apparently exclusive yet including one another, state one of its special problems, and contribute not a little to the understanding of the recent developments in European politics.

The effect of commercialism on politics.

To this political development we must now again turn our attention. We shall see that while the fierce and conquering commercialism of our day has carried the great powers of Europe to the farthest lands and seas, and created a state of friction among them which makes war a possibility from one moment to another, oil is steadily poured on the troubled waters by that growing number, convinced that there are no longer any quarrels between nation and nation which cannot be better settled by adjudication than by the barbarous arbitrament of war.

Review of European diplomacy.

We have glanced (Chapters XXIII. and XXV.) at some of the special problems which have attended the most recent development of the leading continental states and of England. It is now proper that we review the diplomatic history of Europe, considered as a whole, since the Franco-German War of 1870. Their defeat, coupled with the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, created a bitterness in the hearts of Frenchmen

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which for the two following decades induced them to strain every nerve to prepare for a war of revenge. The Alsace-Lorraine question till about 1890 was in the foreground of European interest and kept alive the apprehension that war would break out with each new spring. To meet this danger threatening on the west, Bismarck, the masterful statesman, who held in his hands the destinies of Germany, devised the plan of drawing to his side all the possible allies of France; without a powerful ally, he argued, France would not undertake a war. The peace of 1871 was hardly signed, when Bismarck began to cultivate the friendship of Austria and Russia. The result was the league of the three emperors, which, by establishing friendly relations among Germany, Russia, and Austria, secured the peace of Europe until the explosion in the Balkans in 1876. We have seen how Russia was induced to declare war, by which, though successful, she failed to obtain all she desired, owing to the intervention of the powers in the Congress of Berlin (1878). The Russians ascribed their diplomatic defeat to the desertion of Germany, and the Pan-Slavic party, very powerful at court and in the press, assumed so hostile a tone that Bismarck in alarm formed a close defensive alliance with Austria (1879). This is the beginning of a system of treaties which has lasted to this day (1906). The Austro-German alliance, intended as a warning addressed to Russia and France, presently met with a welcome accession. In 1881 Italy, mortally offended by the French seizure of Tunis, made overtures to Berlin for admission to the new league, which was presently (1883) converted into a Triple Alliance of the central powers. This agreement, although professedly peaceful, carried alarm to the banks of the Seine and the Neva, and induced the French and Russian diplomats to draw more closely together. Czar Alexander III. had some difficulty in overcoming his anti-republican sentiments,

League of the three emperors.

The Triple Alliance.

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The Dual Alliance.

but necessity knows no law, and by 1890 he had entered into friendly relations with the French republic, which later on ripened into an alliance. England, not immediately interested in a purely continental rivalry, refused to be drawn into either of these systems and maintained a "splendid isolation."

The armed peace.

The Triple and Dual Alliances, by establishing a balance of power, have maintained the peace of Europe, and in so far deserve the gratitude of the world. But this peace is an "armed peace," each nation at a great expense supporting a huge standing army ready to take the field at a moment's notice. Russia has a force continually under arms of over 700,000, Germany and France of over 500,000 each, and these forces, by calling in the trained reserves, can be swelled without delay to 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 men. The awful consequences of the clash of such numbers have inclined to make statesmen unwilling to assume the responsibility of war and have proved an impressive argument in favor of peace. Still the vast expense of these military establishments raises the question whether they can in the long run be kept up. Poorer countries, like Italy and Russia, have been obliged to put on the tax screws to the limit of endurance. Disarmament is a watch-cry which is gaining more and more adherents in every country. The "armed peace" has accustomed the powers to arbitrate their differences in order to avoid war, and conceivably they may come to see that arbitration is just as feasible and honorable among unarmed nations as among governments mutually suspicious and armed to the teeth.

World commerce and world politics.

While the affairs of the Continent thus passed into a condition of relatively stable equilibrium, a change, hardly perceptible at first, began in the relations of the powers to the rest of the world. The active agent was the industrial revolution already mentioned. The merchant class, long

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before the statesmen, began to see the advantage of winning foreign markets for their wares, and opened up in increasing number lines of communication with the rest of the world. The monopoly of oceanic commerce had, during the greater part of the nineteenth century, been left so entirely to England, that the sudden competition of her neighbors almost bore the appearance of an encroachment. Not only had her commercial primacy remained undisputed, but the long occupation of the Continent with its own affairs had enabled England to round off also her splendid colonial empire, won in the eighteenth century. To her territory in North America and India she had added vast empires in Australia and South Africa. Therefore, when the nations of the Continent began to look around, the earth was already preëmpted, except for certain less desirable and even inaccessible sections of Africa and Asia. Nevertheless, the governments by the despatch of expeditions and in other ways reached out a hand for these territories, and England, in alarm at this unexpected rivalry, accelerated the slow movement of absorption in which she had been engaged for over a hundred years. The first object of the ensuing scramble was Africa.

The British in Egypt.

Late in the seventies Egypt invited the attention of Europe, because its government had fallen into hopeless bankruptcy. Egypt was a part of the Turkish Empire. In the early nineteenth century a capable pasha, Mehemet Ali (1811–48), had carried on two successful wars with the Sultan, thereby securing the hereditary transmission of his power and the practical recognition of his independence. His grandson Ismail (1863–79) went farther. He extended his rule over the upper Nile; he helped build the Suez Canal; and he induced the Sultan to grant him the higher title of khedive. But Ismail was a spendthrift. He made the mistake of selling his shares in the Suez Canal Company to the British Government, which thus acquired control

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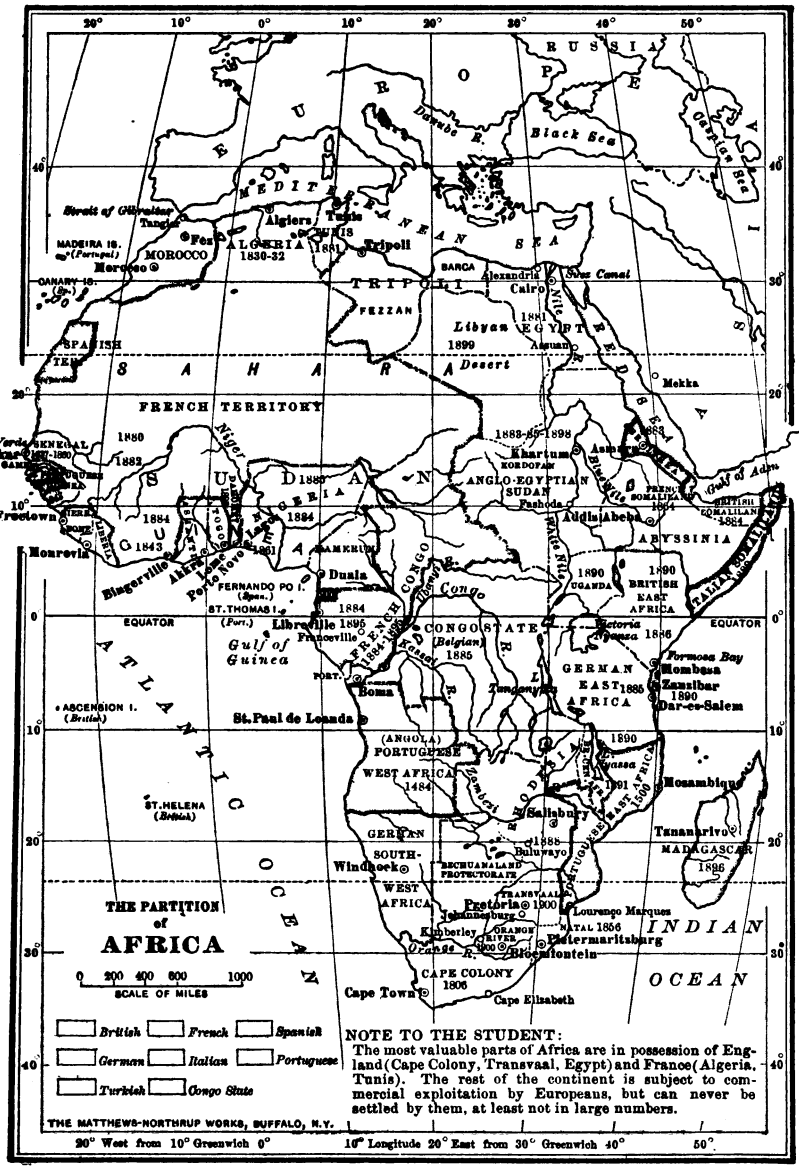
of the great Egyptian waterway, and, in spite of this help, he presently defaulted the interest on the national debt (1879). As the Egyptian bonds were held largely in England and France, these powers interposed to protect their subjects, and forced their way into the management of the treasury. In 1882 a section of the natives, led by a certain Arabi, rose in revolt against the interference of foreigners in the affairs of their country, and England and France had to make up their minds either to abandon Egypt or to conquer it entirely. France decided for abandonment, but England, whose stake in Egypt was high, on account of the passage by the Suez Canal to India, boldly occupied the country with a military force. Since 1882 Egypt has to all intents been a British colony, although the khedive continues to reign at Cairo and the administration is largely in native hands.

The partition of Africa.

Even before Egypt was drawn under the British ægis, missionaries and scientists had called attention to Africa, and two great explorers, Livingstone and Stanley, had disclosed many of the secrets of the tropical jungle. King Leopold of Belgium, the protector of the expedition under Stanley which for the first time traced the course of the great Congo River, was just preparing to organize the Congo region into a colonial dependency (1883), when Portugal raised a boundary dispute and Germany occupied (1884) Togoland and Kamerun. To adjust rival claims a conference was held at Berlin (1884–85), which besides recognizing the Congo Free State under the lordship of King Leopold, established the important precedent of peaceful arbitration for all African disputes. The scramble for Africa once begun continued, until at the opening of the twentieth century the great continent embraces only three states independent and unclaimed by some European power, Liberia, Morocco, and Abyssinia. Upon the most impor-

Morocco.

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tant of these, the empire of Morocco, inhabited by Mohammedan Moors, France has long cast a covetous eye, and in 1905 was about to drive an entering wedge into its independence, when Germany interfered, and a sharp discussion ensued, which, however, according to the excellent precedent established at the Congo Conference, was settled amicably at a general meeting of European representatives at Algeciras in Spain (1906). This conference, although conceding to France, as well as to Spain, by virtue of their geographical position, certain limited privileges in Morocco, solemnly affirmed the sultan of Morocco's sovereignty. It is quite probable, however, that France will continue to press forward and that the sultan's reduction to the rôle of the Egyptian khedive has merely been delayed. The time must also come when Liberia and Abyssinia will bow to some European overlordship. It should be noted, however, that Abyssinia has thus far vigorously and successfully resisted various efforts on the part of Italy to undermine her independence.

British predominance in Africa.

A glance at the map of Africa will show that the largest territorial holdings belong to Great Britain and France. Germany occupies the third place, and Italy, Spain, and Belgium—into whose hands the Congo Free State will pass on the death of King Leopold—have comfortable footholds. But unquestionably Great Britain, through her command of the Nile and the Cape, occupies the most favorable position, subject, however, to proportionate responsibilities. Both the Egyptian and South African dependencies have already proved a prolific source of conflicts, leading in their turn to further conquests. The upper Nile region, called the Sudan, became independent of Egypt in the early eighties through a revolt led by a Mohammedan fanatic styled "madhi" or prophet, and only after long years of preparation did General Kitchener, leading an Anglo-Egyptian force, break the

Conquest of the Egyptian Sudan, 1898.

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power of the Madhists and reconquer the province (1898). No sooner was this done than trouble began to brew in the region of the Cape. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State, two republics of Dutch colonists, called Boers, were threatened in several ways by British predominance. In the first place Great Britain claimed a suzerainty over them, which admitted of different interpretations, and second, the discovery of gold in the Transvaal brought into the country a large number of British adventurers who claimed citizen rights. A period of friction ended in 1899 in war, which after three years of a resistance challenging the admiration of the world, brought the two free republics under the British flag. The "Cape to Cairo" railroad, the dream of Cecil Rhodes, a famous Anglo-African capitalist and empire-builder of the modern commercial type, may be realized before long, and will firmly rivet the British possessions of the south to those of the north.

Conquest of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, 1902.

The occupation of Asia has proceeded more deliberately than that of Africa, chiefly because the native states possess a greater power of resistance and their reduction involves danger and expense. England since the eighteenth century has been the undisputed mistress of India. Even before that time Russia had begun to absorb Siberia in the north, and in the nineteenth century began to push toward the central provinces. A generation ago France got a foothold on the peninsula of Farther India (Cochin China, 1862). These three powers, but chiefly England and Russia, are mainly concerned in the attempted extension of European control over Asia. That their success has been considerable is proved by the fact that at the beginning of the twentieth century the only states of the Asiatic continent not subject to their control were Asia Minor, Syria, and Arabia (all belonging to Turkey), Persia, Afghanistan, Siam, and China. Of these Siam, Afghanistan, and Persia are so wedged in

Great Britain, Russia, and France in Asia.

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between either Great Britain and Russia or Great Britain and France that they must fall the moment that their neighbors have agreed about their division. Asia Minor, Syria, and Arabia are bound to be seized by Europe when the expected break-up of the Turkish Empire takes place. That leaves for consideration China, the great bone of contention among the colonizing powers.

China.

The ancient empire of China, containing about 400,000,000 inhabitants, is a highly civilized state, although the aims of its civilization have little in common with the culture of the Occident. Our unreasoning prejudice against the colored races may find a corrective in the reflection that we probably owe such prized inventions as the compass, paper, and gunpowder to the Chinese, and that this people found a noble religious teacher in Confucius five hundred years before Christ. Toward the close of our Middle Ages China took the curious step of shutting itself off from the world, and for almost five hundred years was a hermit kingdom. With the expansion of Europe this condition could not last; the merchant looking for customers was not going to let himself be foiled by the wall which China had built around herself. The succeeding events are in the nature of a tragi-comedy, a mixture of greed, terror, courage, and pathos.

The first period of spoliation.

The axe which burst open the closed gates of China was swung by Great Britain, which in 1840–42 waged a disgraceful war for the purpose of compelling China to buy opium from her Indian colony. Having forced opium upon the reluctant Chinaman, she paid herself for her trouble by taking the island of Hongkong, and obliging the emperor to open Canton, Shanghai, and some other ports to British trade. Commercial treaties with other countries quickly followed, until the trade with China has assumed considerable proportions. But trade brought

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the trader, and behind the trader loomed the politician. In 1862 France seized Cochin China, over which China claimed suzerainty, and in 1884, after a short war, added Tonkin to her Chinese possessions. Russia toward the middle of the century began to encroach upon northern China (Manchuria) and by 1860 had reached the Sea of Japan at the point where is now the port of Vladivostock.

Japan.

It seemed likely that China would be eaten like an artichoke, leaf by leaf, by England, France, and Russia, when a number of other claimants presented themselves, chief of whom was Japan. Japan, occupying the islands off the east coast, was inhabited by a people related to the Chinese and boasting a similar civilization. It, too, had shut itself off from the rest of the world, and had opened its doors again to outsiders only under compulsion. The breach in Japanese custom was made by Commodore Perry of the United States navy, who by a threat of bombardment induced the government to remove the commercial embargo from Yokohama and two other ports (1854). An almost magical change followed. With trade came new ideas, which exercised such charm over the quick-witted Japanese that they appropriated the benefits of Western civilization with a rush. Their youth came to Europe and America for purposes of study; the administration, the army, the navy, the school system were revolutionized; and before the century had closed Japan had taken a place by the side of the European nations.

Modernization of Japan.

Of the various reforms it is impossible to speak in detail further than to point out what happened at the seat of government. During the political eclipse of Japan, the emperor, called *mikado*, had been reduced to a figure-head by the *shogun*, the hereditary commander of the army. As a consequence of the national revival the shogun with his officers, constituting a kind of feudal baronage, was overthrown, the mikado resumed sway, and by the grant of a

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constitution (1889) put the administration into the hands of a cabinet of ministers and vested the legislative power in a parliament of two houses.

War between Japan and China, 1894–95.

The advantage of a thorough national renovation was seen when Japan in 1894 engaged in war with China, which country, in spite of opening some of its ports to Western commerce, had obstinately held aloof from foreign influences. The bulky antagonist swiftly went down before the agile islanders, who exhibited an efficiency on land and water exciting universal admiration. They had just forced China to a humiliating peace, when Russia, backed by France and Germany, stepped in and obliged her to moderate her conditions. At the Peace of Shimonoseki (1895) she received the island of Formosa and a money indemnity.

The second period of spoliation.

The war, which once more showed the helplessness of China, precipitated a new period of spoliation. In 1897 Germany, on the pretext of obtaining satisfaction for the murder of some missionaries, seized the port of Kiauchau, and when Russia in 1898 took Port Arthur, which threatened Pekin itself, Great Britain immediately responded by occupying the point opposite Port Arthur, called Weihaiwei. China suddenly became the focus of European diplomacy. Russia, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan eyed one another suspiciously, to which number was presently added the United States, carried to the very portals of China by the acquisition of the Philippines in the war of 1898 with Spain. It was becoming plain that unless China should awaken and follow in the footsteps of Japan, her fate would be sealed. Some signs of the hoped-for change began to appear, mainly in the construction of railroads, when the greed of Russia precipitated a war, which a more conciliatory temper might have avoided.

We have mentioned Russia's seizure of northern Man-

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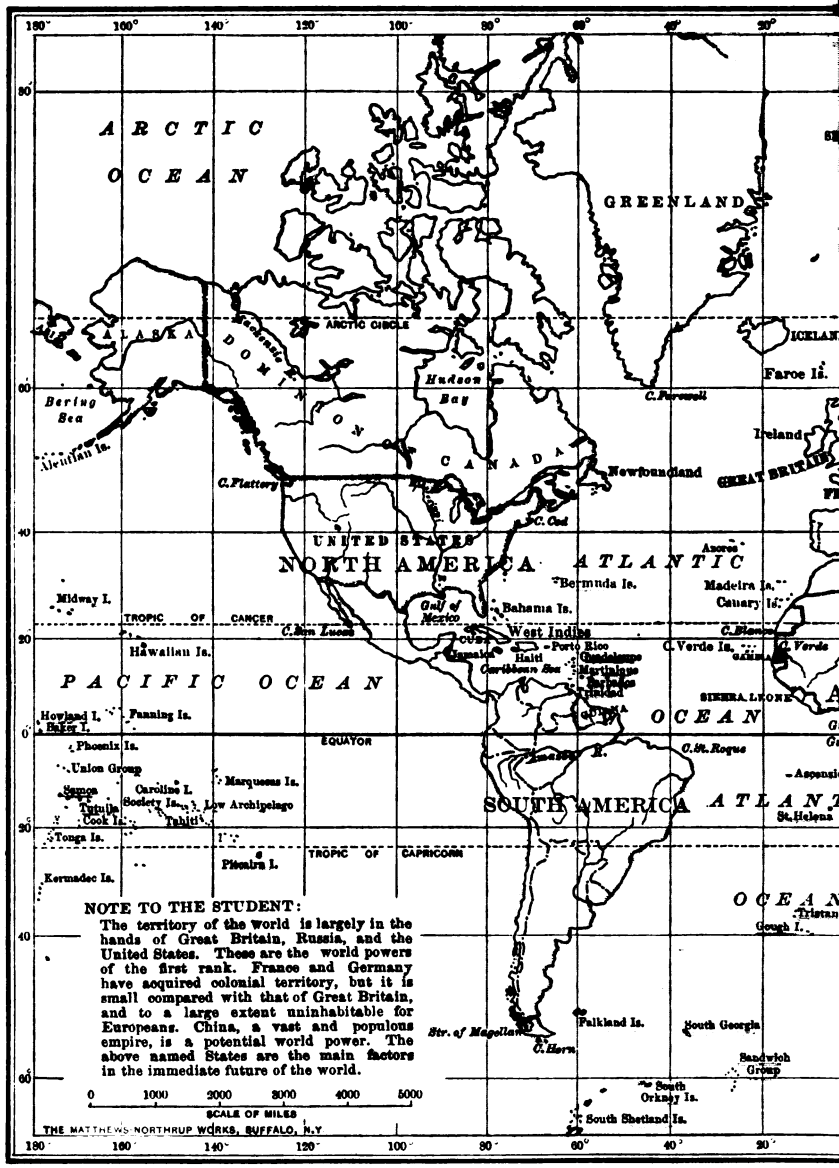
War between Russia and Japan, 1904–5.

churia (1858–60) and Port Arthur (1898). Having got lodgment in southern Manchuria by means of railroad privileges, she was about to incorporate this province, when she was challenged by Japan. This power could not let a rich territory like Manchuria, sure to carry with it predominance in Korea and at Pekin, fall into the Russian maw without a protest. Fruitless negotiations led to war, which the Japanese began on February 8, 1904, by swooping down upon the Russian fleet at Port Arthur and torpedoing two battle-ships and two cruisers. The advantage in the struggle which followed rested steadily with the Japanese. Having secured a foothold on the continent by occupying Korea, they marched to meet the Russians in the great Manchurian plain. In two momentous battles around Liao-yang (September, 1904) and Mukden (March, 1905) the Russians were defeated and driven northward. At the same time the Russian naval station, Port Arthur, was besieged and taken (January 1, 1905). Meanwhile the Japanese fared even better at sea, destroying the Port Arthur fleet in August, 1904, and a second Russian fleet, which had made the long journey from the Baltic, in a two days' battle in the Sea of Japan (May, 1905). These repeated defeats of the Russians were made definite and hopeless by the mutterings of a revolutionary storm at home. Therefore the efforts, now made by President Roosevelt in behalf of peace, could only have been welcome to the Czar. A conference, called by the United States in August, 1905, at Portsmouth, N. H., led to an agreement, by which Russia made the following concessions: 1. She retired from southern Manchuria and gave the control of the railway back to China. 2. She made over her lease to the Liaotong peninsula (including Port Arthur) to Japan. 3. She recognized the preponderance of Japan in Korea. 4. She surrendered to the victor the southern half of the island of Sakhalin.

The Peace of Portsmouth.

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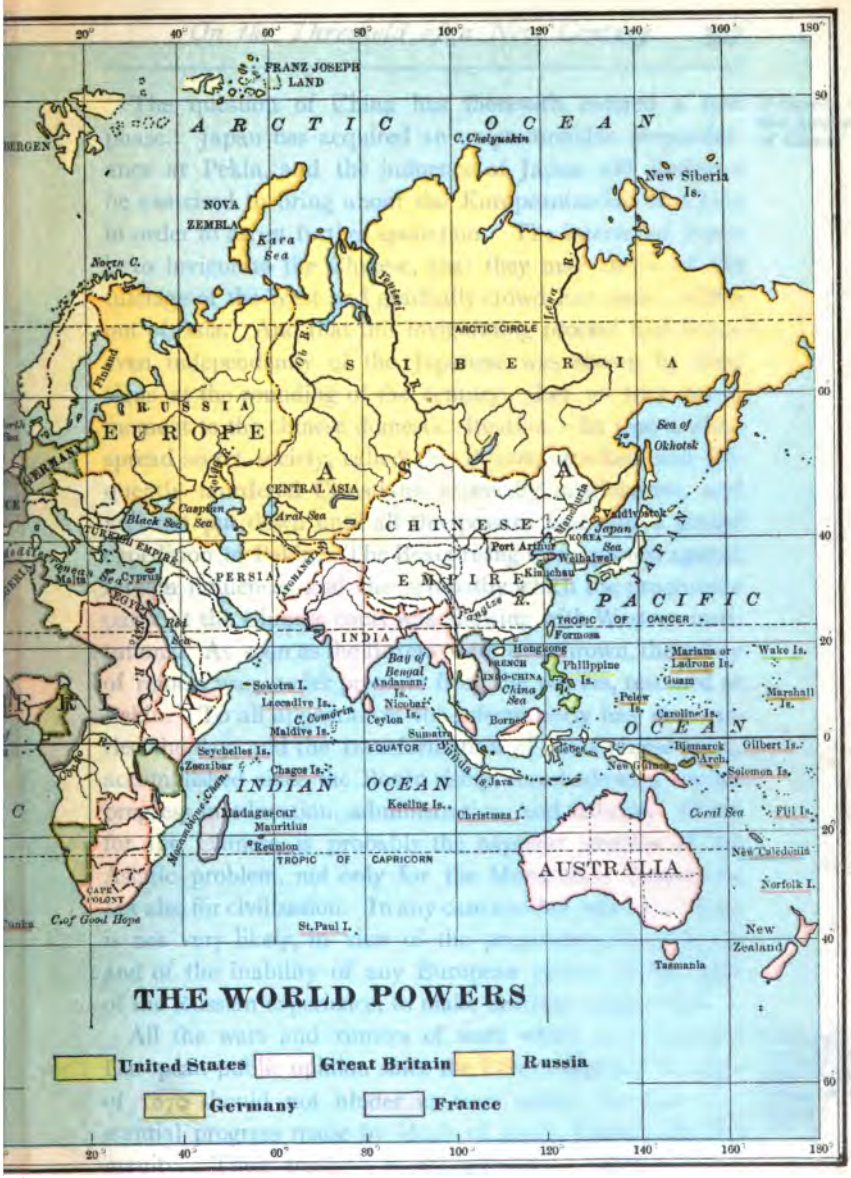
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NOTE TO THE STUDENT:

The territory of the world is largely in the hands of Great Britain, Russia, and the United States. These are the world powers of the first rank. France and Germany have acquired colonial territory, but it is small compared with that of Great Britain, and to a large extent uninhabitable for Europeans. China, a vast and populous empire, is a potential world power. The above named States are the main factors in the immediate future of the world.

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Prospects of the awakening of China.

The question of China has therewith entered a new phase. Japan has acquired an unquestionable preponderance at Pekin, and the influence of Japan will doubtless be exercised to bring about the Europeanization of China in order to arrest further spoliation. The interest of Japan is to invigorate the Chinese, that they may throw off the tutelage of the West and gradually crowd European politics out of Asia. And that this invigorating process had begun even independently of the Japanese was shown by clear signs at the rounding of the century. Let us turn for a moment to the chinese domestic situation. In 1900 a widespread secret society, called the Boxers, attacked and frequently murdered Christians, especially missionaries, and was not put down until all the powers had sent a united expedition to Pekin. The Boxer rising was a protest against foreign influences and the sympathy which the progressive party at the Chinese court was showing with Western institutions. As soon as the Boxers were overthrown, the policy of reform was, under pressure from the powers, resumed at Pekin. To all appearances the reform party has now carried the day, and the transformation of the Chinese army, accomplished since the Boxer rising, foreshadows a similar progress in education, administration, and industry. China for the Chinese is probably the happiest solution of the Asiatic problem, not only for the Mongolians themselves, but also for civilization. In any case another war over China is not very likely, in view of the preponderance of Japan and of the inability of any European power, in the light of the Russian experience, to make headway against her.

The spirit of peace and the court of arbitration at The Hague.

All the wars and rumors of wars which have agitated European public opinion since the Franco-German struggle of 1870 should not hinder us from seeing the very substantial progress made by ideals of peace, justice, and humanity. Their triumph is as distinctly a feature of our

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time as the march of commercialism on its often rude and noisy journey round the globe. We have noted this curious parallelism before and pointed, as evidence of a growing sense of brotherhood, to the many conferences held during the past generation to settle political conflicts. The greatest victory, however, won by the party of humanity was the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration at The Hague. In 1899 Czar Nicholas called the conference, which was attended not only by the great and small states of Europe, but also by delegates from the United States, Mexico, China, Japan, Persia, and Siam, and which, after voicing the new ideals of mankind, voted to establish an impartial court where all troubles between states might be adjudicated. Of course war has not by this act been abolished nor have even the heavy armaments of Europe been reduced, but it is an immeasurable benefit that there now exists a court to which every nation can appeal without injury to pride and without loss of honor. The court has already met the test of practice by disposing of several troublesome issues. A second conference, which may attack the question of militarism, is promised for 1907. In any case The Hague court opens a vista into the future which must rejoice the heart of every lover of justice and his fellow-man.

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APPENDIX

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APPENDIX A

A BRIEF LIST OF SPECIALLY RECOMMENDED BOOKS

(The following books, which may be purchased at a total expense of $25–30, are selected with reference to the needs of the student who desires to acquire a small, serviceable library of Modern History.)

1. THE RENAISSANCE (1300–1500).

The Cambridge Modern History. Volume I. The Renaissance. Macmillan. New York. $4.00. The most comprehensive and scientific account of this period in the English language.

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2. THE REFORMATION (1500–1648).

The Cambridge Modern History. Volume II. The Reformation. Macmillan. New York. $4.00. Holds the same place in its field as the volume on the Renaissance spoken of above. Volume III. of this publication, entitled The Wars of Religion, carries the narrative through the next stage, but is not so indispensable as Volume II.

Ephraim Emerton. *Desiderius Erasmus.* Putnam. New York. $1.50. A broad and sympathetic interpretation of the world of humanism and of its northern leader.

Gustav Freytag. *Martin Luther.* Open Court Company. Chicago. $0.25.

Frederic Harrison. *William the Silent.* Macmillan. New York. $0.75. A simple and open-minded biography of the great Dutch hero.

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3. The Absolute Monarchy (1648–1789).

H. O. Wakeman. *The Ascendancy of France in Europe.* Macmillan. New York. $1.40. This volume traces successfully the organization of the French monarchy and analyzes the contributions made by Henry IV., Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV.

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4. Revolution and Democracy (1789–1906).

The Cambridge Modern History. Volume VIII. The French Revolution. Macmillan. New York. $4.00. Not even in French is there a work superior in scholarship, and certainly none exists which can compare with it in dispassionate treatment.

R. M. Johnston. *Napoleon, A Short Biography.* Barnes. New York. $1.00. Contains all the matter suitable to a first view. Students who have a special interest in Napoleon should go to Fournier, Rose, and Volume IX. of the Cambridge Modern History.

Charles Seignobos. *Political History of Europe Since 1814.* Edited by S. M. Macvane. Holt. New York. $3.00. Unnecessarily dry and statistical, but containing more important material than any other single volume.

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5. Histories of Single States and Nations.

E. F. Henderson. *A Short History of Germany.* 2 volumes. Macmillan. New York. $4.00. An interesting and well-balanced presentation with particular attention directed to the Reformation, Frederick the Great, and Bismarck.

Benjamin Terry. *A History of England.* Scott, Foresman. Chicago. $1.50. This work lays stress on the constitutional development without neglecting other factors of the national life.

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6. Source Materials.

J. H. Robinson. *Readings in European History.* 2 volumes. Ginn. Boston. $1.50 each. These volumes con-

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tain excellently selected materials, calculated to give the student a direct, first-hand impression of a particular period.

Adams and Stephens. *Select Documents Illustrative of English Constitutional History.* Macmillan. New York. $2.25. An excellent supplement to Terry's History of England, as it gives the most important documents bearing upon the growth and organization of the English monarchy.

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APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO THE PRESENT DAY

The Popes are elected by the cardinals in a solemn session called conclave. Since Hadrian VI., who was born in the Netherlands, all Popes have been Italians. Note that the Popes from Nicholas V. (1447) to Paul IV. (1555) form the group of Renaissance Popes characterized on pages 33–34 and 97–98.

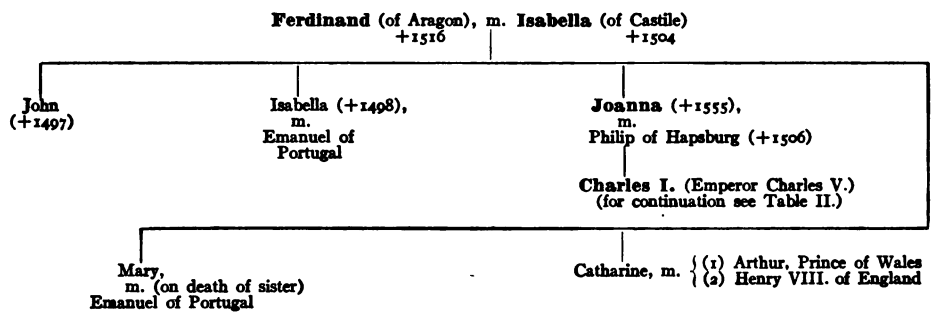
1447. Nicholas V.
1455. Calixtus III. (Borgia)
1458. Pius II. (Piccolomini)
1464. Paul II.
1471. Sixtus IV. (Rovere)
1484. Innocent VIII.
1493. Alexander VI. (Borgia)
1503. Pius III.
1503. Julius II. (Rovere)
1513. Leo X. (Medici)
1522. Hadrian VI.
1523. Clement VII. (Medici)
1534. Paul III. (Farnese)
1550. Julius III.
1555. Marcellus II.
1555. Paul IV. (Caraffa)
1559. Pius IV.
1566. Pius V.
1572. Gregory XIII.
1585. Sixtus V.
1590. Urban VII.
1590. Gregory XIV.
1591. Innocent IX.
1592. Clement VIII.
1605. Leo XI.
1605. Paul V. (Borghese)
1621. Gregory XV. (Ludovisi)
1623. Urban VIII. (Barberini)
1644. Innocent X. (Pamfili)
1655. Alexander VII. (Chigi)
1667. Clement IX.
1670. Clement X.
1676. Innocent XI.
1689. Alexander VIII.
1691. Innocent XII.
1700. Clement XI.
1720. Innocent XIII.
1724. Benedict XIII.
1740. Benedict XIV.
1758. Clement XII.
1769. Clement XIII.
1775. Pius VI.
1800. Pius VII.
1823. Leo XII.
1829. Pius VIII.
1831. Gregory XVI.
1846. Pius IX.
1878. Leo XIII.
1903. Pius X.

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APPENDIX C

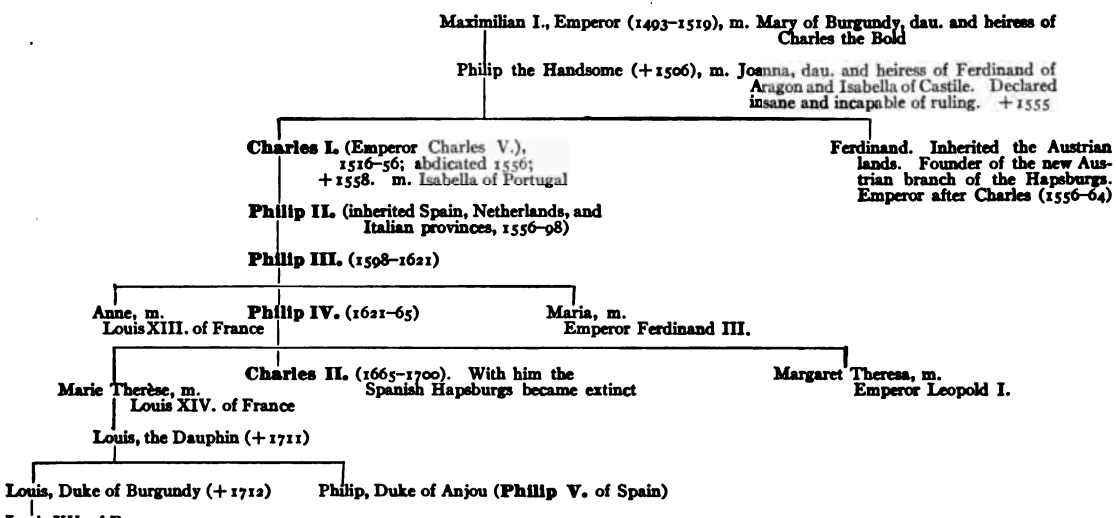
GENEALOGICAL TABLES OF THE SOVEREIGN HOUSES OF EUROPE

I.—SPAIN



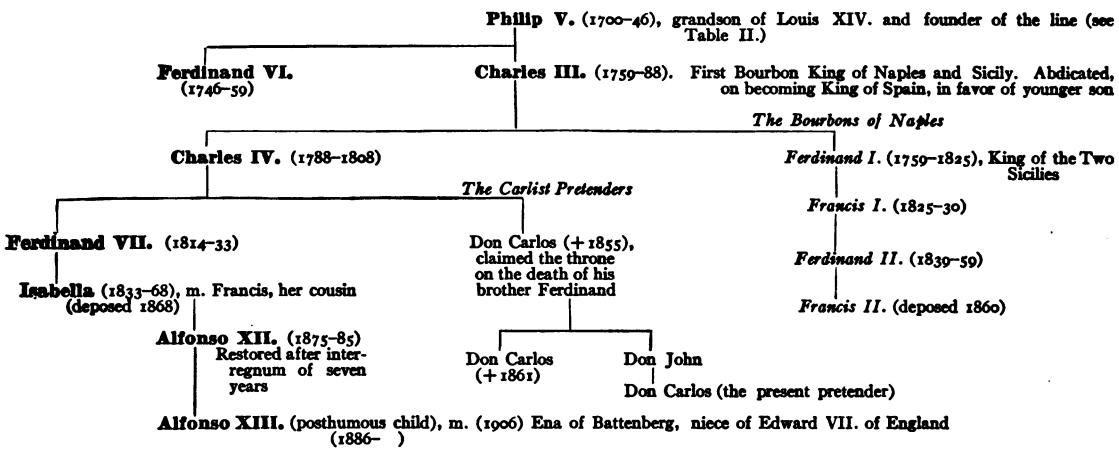
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II.—Spain. The House of Hapsburg



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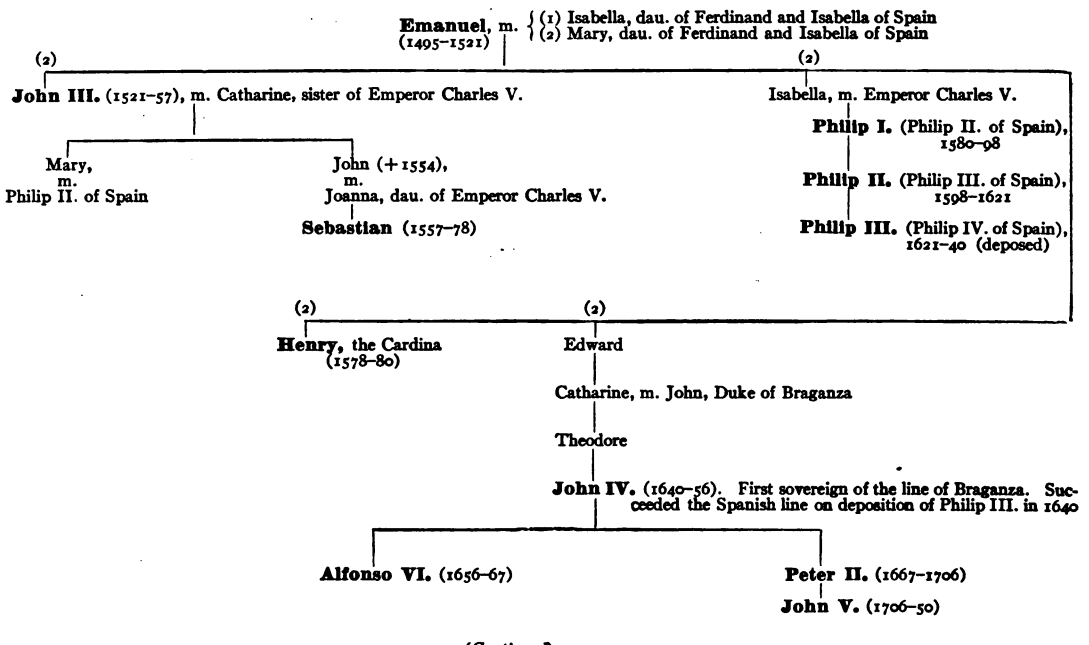
III.—Spain. The Spanish Bourbons and their Neapolitan Branch



Note.—Philip V. was named heir by the testament of Charles II., and after a long war was recognized by Europe as king in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). His younger son, Charles, was recognized as King of Naples and Sicily in 1738, and founded the line which had to yield to united Italy in 1860. Between 1868 and 1875 Spain was in chronic revolution and experimented with a great variety of governments.

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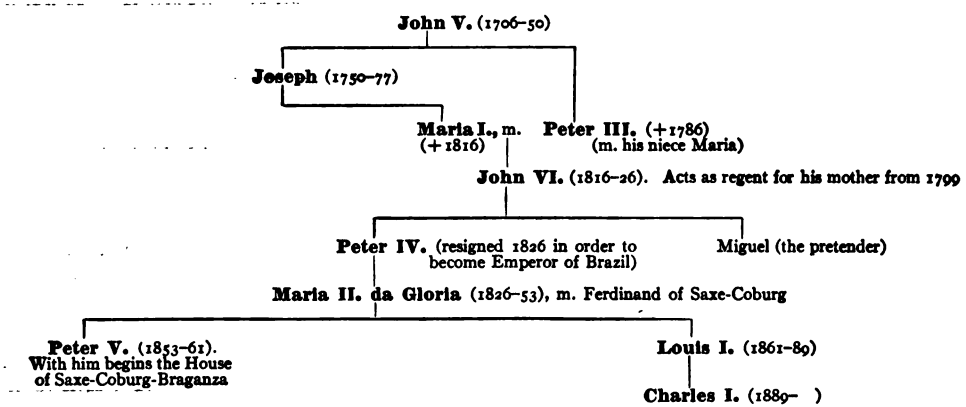
IV.—Portugal



(*Continued*)

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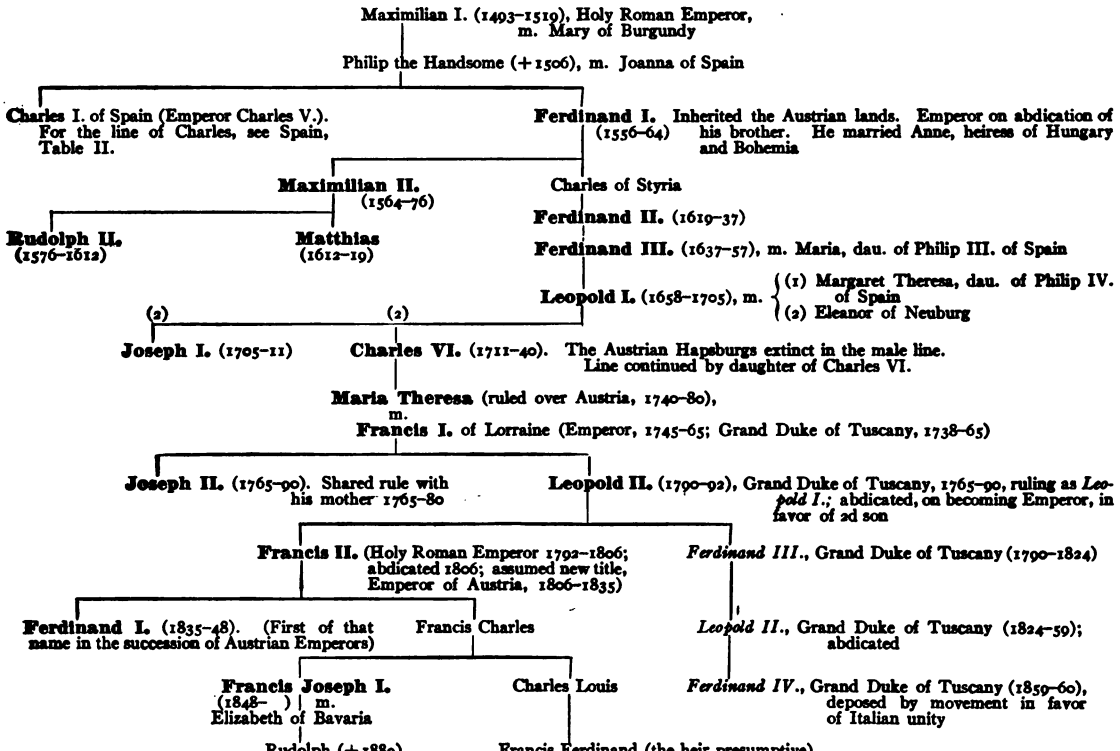
IV.—PORTUGAL—(*Continued*)



NOTE.—From the first part of this table on page 558 it will be seen that Philip II. of Spain derived his claim to the throne of Portugal from his mother. But the connection, always distasteful to the Portuguese, was dissolved in 1640, and the dukes of Braganza, descended in the female line from the former kings, were called to the throne.

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V.—Austria. The House of Hapsburg, together with its Tuscan Branch



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VI.—Prussia. The House of Hohenzollern

Joachim I. (1499–1535), Elector of Brandenburg. The line of Hohenzollern electors of Brandenburg was founded by Frederick I. in 1415 (see page 303)

Joachim II. (1535–71), first Protestant elector

John George (1571–98)

Joachim Frederick (1598–1608)

John Sigismund (1608–19). Acquires (1) Rhenish lands of Cleves and Mark (1609); (2) the Duchy of Prussia (1618)

George William (1619–40)

Frederick William (1640–88), the Great Elector. Important acquisitions by the Treaty of Westphalia; also suzerainty of East Prussia

Frederick I. [as Elector, Frederick III. (1688–1701); as King in Prussia, he is Frederick I. (1701–13)]

Frederick William I. (1713–40). Acquires part of Swedish Pomerania

Frederick II., called the Great (1740–86). Acquires Silesia and West Prussia

August William (+1758)

Henry (+1802)

Ferdinand (+1813)

Frederick William II. (1786–97)

Frederick William III. (1797–1840), m. Louise of Mecklenburg. Large acquisitions by the treaties of Vienna (1815)

Frederick William IV. (1840–61)

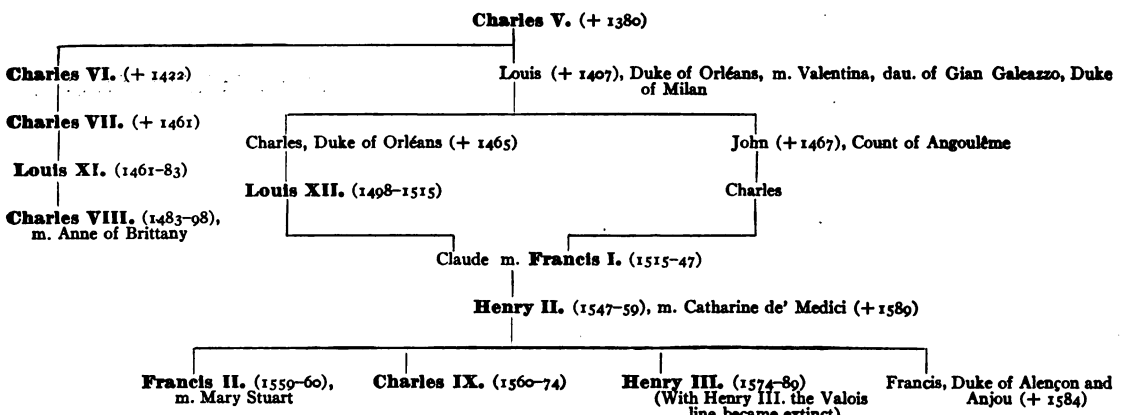
William I. (1861–88), becomes German Emperor, 1871

Frederick III. (March to June, 1888), m. Victoria of England

William II. (1888–), m. Augusta Victoria of the line of the dukes of Augustenburg

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VII.—France. The House of Valois



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VIII.—France. The House of Bourbon

(The House of Bourbon is descended from a younger son of Louis IX. [St. Louis], 1226–70.)

Anthony, Duke of Bourbon, m. Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre

Henry IV. (1589–1610), m. { (1) Margaret of Valois; (2) Maria de' Medici

Louis XIII. (1610–43), m. Anne of Austria, dau. of Philip III. of Spain

Louis XIV. (1643–1715), m. dau. of Philip IV. of Spain

Louis, the Dauphin (+ 1711)

Louis, Duke of Burgundy (+ 1712)

Louis XV. (1715–74)

Louis, the Dauphin (+ 1765)

Louis XVI. (1774–92; executed 1793)

Louis (called Louis XVII.; died in prison, 1795)

Philip, Duke of Anjou, who as Philip V. becomes founder of the Spanish Bourbons

Louis XVIII. (1814–24)

Charles X. (1824–30)

Charles, Duke of Berri

Henry, Count of Chambord (+ 1883; line extinct)

Philip, Duke of Orléans. Founder of the younger or Orléans branch

Philip, the Regent (1715–23)

Louis (+ 1752)

Louis Philip (+ 1785)

Louis Philip (known as Égalité; executed 1793)

Louis Philip, King of the French (1830–48)

Ferdinand, Duke of Orléans (+ 1842)

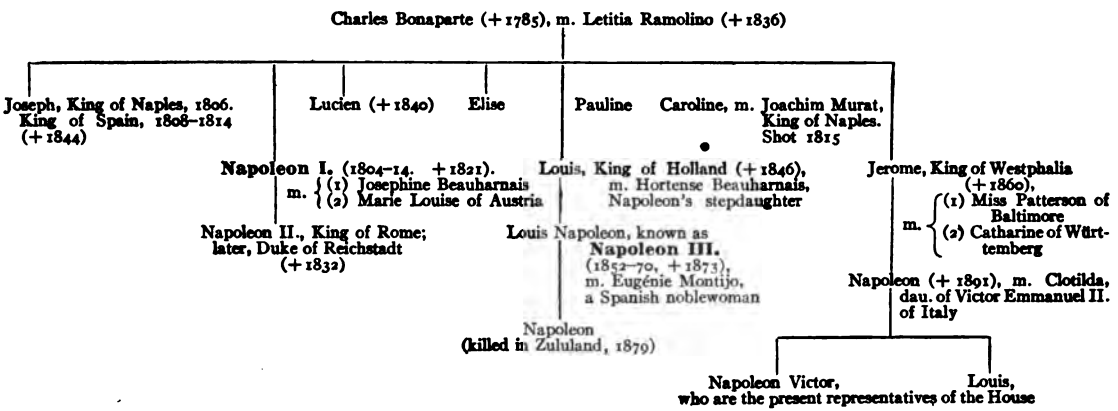
Louis Philip, Count of Paris (+ 1895)

Louis Philip, Duke of Orléans, the present Bourbon pretender

Note.—Anthony, Duke of Bourbon and King of Navarre in right of his wife, had a brother Louis, Prince of Condé. This brother is the founder of the House of Condé, which produced the great general (+ 1686) and became extinct in the nineteenth century.

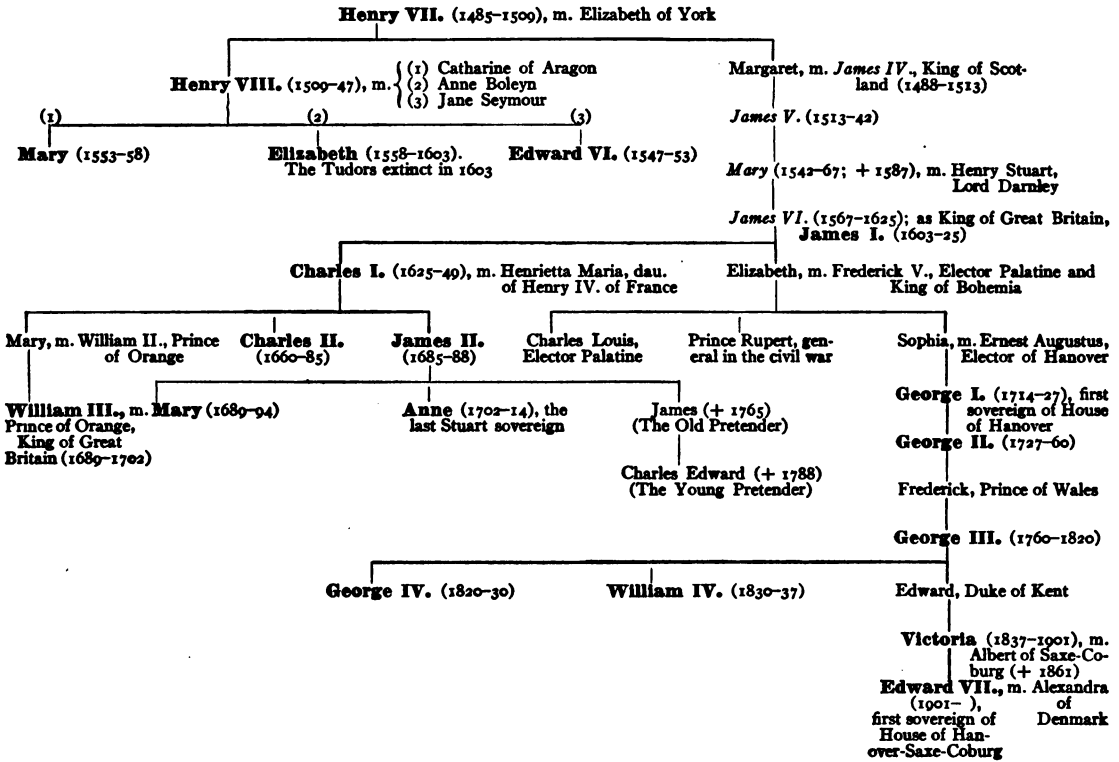
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IX.—France. The House of Bonaparte



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X.—England. The Houses of Tudor, Stuart, and Hanover; the House of Saxe-Coburg



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XI.—The Dutch Netherlands. The House of Orange-Nassau

William I., the Silent (+1584), Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau; Stadtholder

- *Maurice* (+1625)
- *Frederick Henry* (+1647)
  - *William II.* (+1650), m. Mary, dau. of Charles I. of England
    - *William III.* (+1702), m. Mary, dau. of James II. of England; King of England (1689–1702)

William III. recognized as his heir a cousin of the same House, John William Friso. The Stadtholderate was in abeyance from 1702 to 1748.

John William Friso (+1711)

- *William IV.* (1748–51)
- *William V.* (1751–1802; deposed) +1806. Netherlands in hands of Napoleon, 1802–14
- **William I.**, King of the Netherlands (Holland and Belgium) (1815–30). Belgium revolted and became independent, 1830. With him the title Stadtholder is replaced by that of King. King over Holland alone, 1830–40
- **William II.** (1840–49)
- **William III.** (1849–90)
- **Wilhelmina** (1890–), m. (1901) Henry of Mecklenburg

Note.—Stadtholders in italics; kings in bold type.

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XII.—Sweden. The Houses of Vasa and Vasa-Holstein; the House of Bernadotte

Gustavus I., Vasa (1523–60)

Eric XIV. (1560–68) — **John III.** (1568–92) — **Charles IX.** (1604–11)

Sigismund. Elected King of Poland, and adopts Catholicism, 1587; King of Sweden (1592–1604); deposed 1604

Catharine, m. Casimir of Pfalz-Zweibrücken

Charles X., Gustavus (1654–60)

Charles XI. (1660–97)

Gustavus II. Adolphus (1611–32), founds the military power of Sweden

Christina (1632–54), abdicates 1654 + 1689

Hedwig, m. Duke of Holstein-Gottorp — **Charles XII.** (1697–1718) — **Ulrica Eleanor** (+ 1741), m. **Frederick** of Hesse-Cassel (1720–51)

On the death of Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, Adolphus Frederick of Holstein, remotely connected with the house of Vasa, was elected king.

Adolphus Frederick (1751–71), m. Louise Ulrica, sister of Frederick the Great of Prussia

Gustavus III. (1771–92) — **Charles XIII.** (1809–18)

Gustavus Adolphus (1792–1809; deposed)

Charles XIII. recognized as his heir the French Marshal Bernadotte, who succeeded him as Charles XIV.

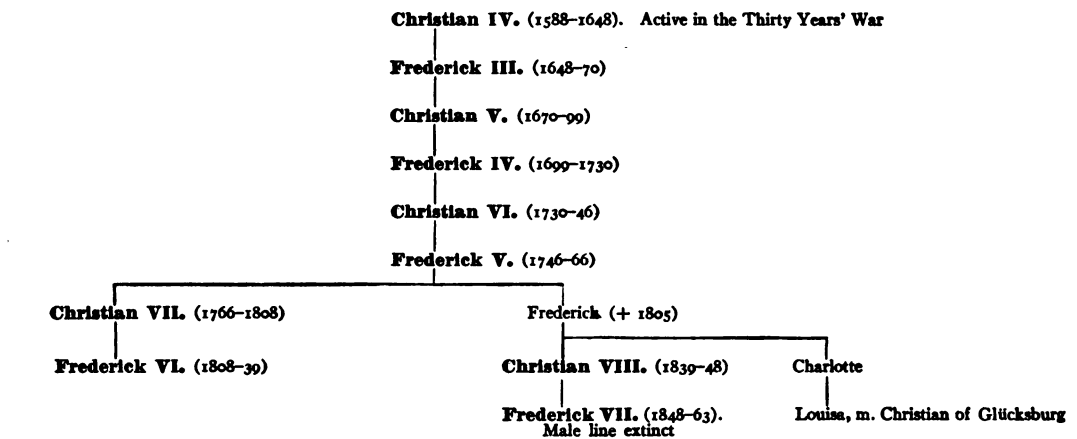
Charles XIV. (1818–44), King of Sweden and Norway. (Acquired Norway as reward for siding against Napoleon)

Oscar I. (1844–59)

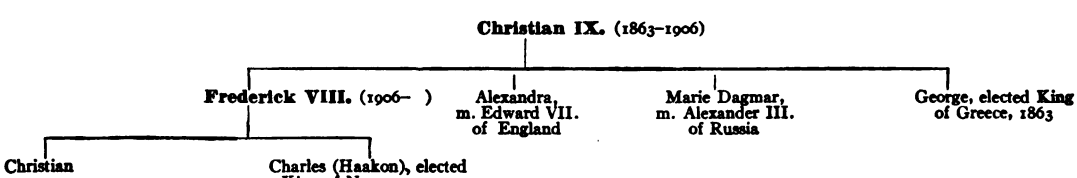
Charles XV. (1859–72) — **Oscar II.** (1872–). Norway declared itself independent (1905) and elected as king a Danish prince, who mounted throne as Haakon VII.

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XIII.—Denmark. The House of Oldenburg; the House of Glücksburg

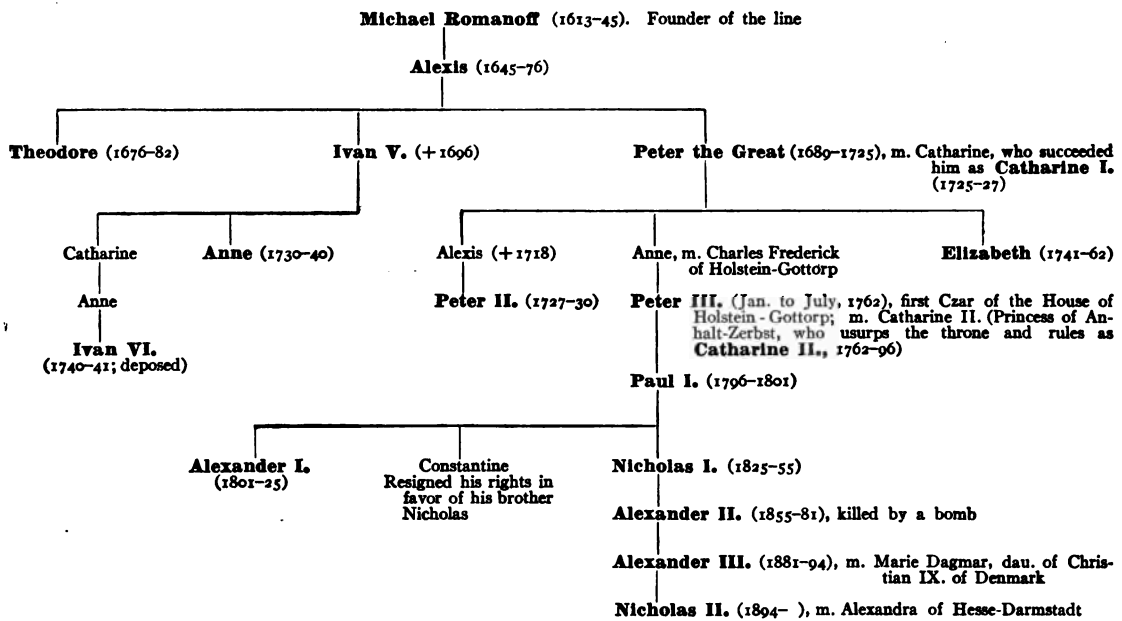


Louisa was the heir to Denmark, but in order to keep the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, where female succession was unlawful, united to the crown of Denmark, the powers recognized her husband, Christian, of the related Glücksburg line, as king.



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XIV.—Russia. The Houses of Romanoff and Romanoff-Holstein-Gottorp



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XV.—Italy. The House of Savoy

The House of Savoy traces its ancestry back to the eleventh century. We begin our table with

Victor Amadeus I. (1630–37), Duke of Savoy

- Francis Hyacinth (1637–38)
- Charles Emmanuel II. (1638–75)
  - Victor Amadeus II. (1675–1730). Becomes King of Sardinia, 1720
    - Charles Emmanuel III. (1730–73), King of Sardinia
      - Victor Amadeus III. (1773–96), King of Sardinia
        - Charles Emmanuel IV. (1796–1802), King of Sardinia
        - Victor Emmanuel I. (1802–21), King of Sardinia
        - Charles Felix (1821–31), King of Sardinia

On the death (1831) of Charles Felix, the crown passed to the secondary line of Savoy-Carignan, descended from Charles Emmanuel I.

Charles Albert (1831–49), King of Sardinia

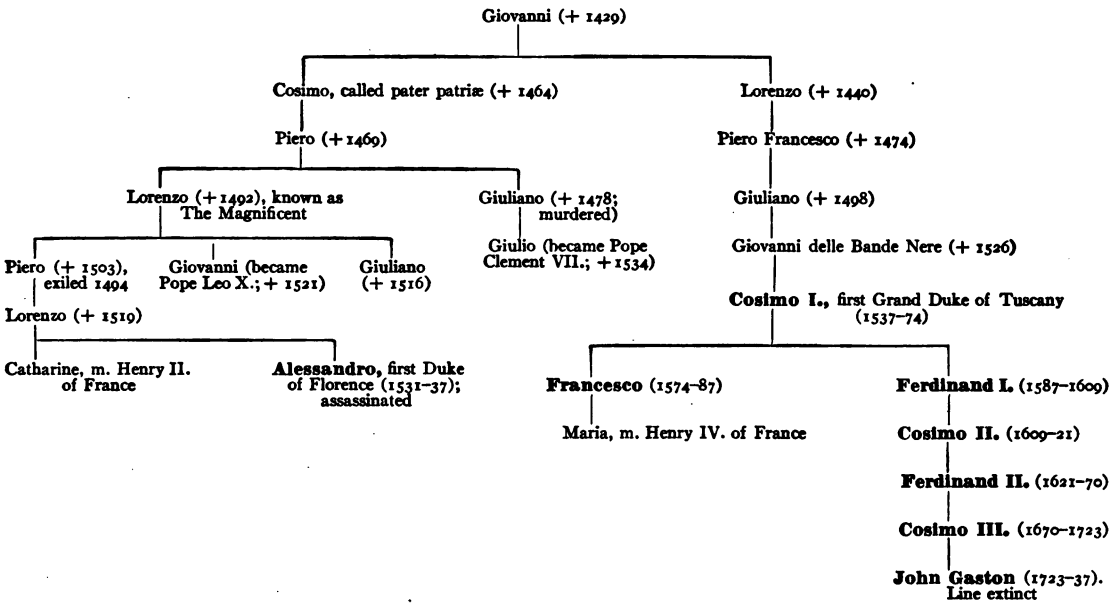
Victor Emmanuel II. (1849–78). Becomes King of Italy, 1861

Humbert I. (1878–1900), assassinated; m. Margaret of Savoy, his cousin

Victor Emmanuel III. (1900–), m. Helena of Montenegro

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XVI.—Florence. The House of Medici



Note.—By the Treaty of Vienna (1738) Tuscany was granted to Francis, Duke of Lorraine (afterwards Emperor Francis I.), in exchange for Lorraine, which was ceded to France. See Table V.

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APPENDIX D

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